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QUAKERISM IN CAROLINE COUNTY, MARYLAND: ITS RISE AND DECLINE

By KENNETH L. CARROLL*

The history of Caroline County Quakerism is much older than that of the county itself. While Caroline was not set up as a separate county until 1773, when it was carved out of Dorchester and Queen Anne's Counties, a close examination of the records of Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends (Talbot County) and of Cecil Monthly Meeting (Kent County) shows that there were already two small Quaker centers in existence in what is now Caroline County, in the middle of the Delmarva Peninsula.

The earliest mention of a Friends meeting in this area appears in 1727, when the name of Marshy Creek Meeting is first found in the minutes of Third Haven Meeting.[1] From this time onward,

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[1] Minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends, I, 403. These manuscript records, beginning in 1676, have recently been deposited in the Hall of Records, Annapolis. Hereafter they are referred to as Third Haven Minutes.

the Marshy Creek Meeting (not to be confused with Muddy Creek Meeting on the Eastern Shore of Virginia) appears regularly in these records. It was located not far from what is now Preston, Maryland.

Just six years later, there is recorded the existence of a second Quaker meeting at the opposite end of what is now Caroline County — in the vicinity of what was once called "Nine Bridges" and is now known as Bridgetown. In the records of Cecil Monthly Meeting is found this minute, dated the 13th of Fourth Month, 1733:

> There being a meeting of friends lately settled in Queen Anns County at a house built for that use Known by ye name of Queen Anns County meeting-house, and they being nearer to our monthly meeting than any other, upon application of James Tillison a member of said meeting to this meeting, they are received as fellow members under ye care of, and accountable to our monthly meeting.[2]

Not much is known of the early history of these two meetings, but one thing which is clear is that both of these groups experienced some difficult periods in their earlier years. In 1733 Marshy Creek reports that meetings "are kept on first Days by Some." Seven years later, conditions had become much worse, for Marshy Creek Friends reported in Fifth Month, 1740, that their meetings were very seldom kept; and only four months later, there is found this statement: "From Marshee Creek ye acct is they have had no meetings for some time." Soon, however, new life sprang into this group, and in 1742 the Quakers in this area were able to report that "their meetings have been constantly kept." Fourteen years later, in 1756, they were asking neighboring Friends to assist them in raising money for a new meeting-house. A temporary weakness seems to have developed in 1766, when a committee reported to Third Haven Monthly Meeting that

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[2] Minutes of Cecil Monthly Meeting of Friends, II, 195. These records are hereafter referred to as Cecil Minutes. The writer used the photostatic copies at the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore, where the first volume of minutes is marked as volume two of the Cecil Monthly Meeting records.

it had visited Marshy Creek and that "the few [Friends] we found there appeared in a state of much weakness and we were enabled to treat with them in Love in order to stir them up to the discharge of their Duty, which was greatly to our satisfaction and Comfort."[3]

The Queen Anne's Meeting never seems to have possessed much strength. In 1747 Queen Anne Friends report meetings for worship only once a week, with no midweek meeting such as most Friends held. By 1752 "Henry Covington from Queen Anns meeting reports that meetings for worship have been *for the most part* kept on first days."[4] As time went by, there was definite feeling on the part of Quakers in this section that they should apply to have their meeting under the care of Third Haven Monthly Meeting in Talbot County. This transfer was approved by Cecil Monthly Meeting on the 10th of First Month, 1759, and the next month Third Haven reported receiving a certificate from "Kent County Monthly Meeting" requesting membership for the following persons: Henry Coventry, his wife, and children; John George and his wife; Joseph Gill; Steven Gudgion; John and Richard Swift; Mary Wright, widow of Nathan Wright; and Sarah Baynard, wife of Nathan Baynard.[5] Queen Anne's Meeting was now part of the same monthly meeting to which Marshy Creek belonged.

As the years marched by, it seems that the attention of both groups was taken up by the question of the inadequacy of their meetinghouses. In 1766 Queen Anne Friends reported that, after a great deal of thinking about the distance of their meetinghouse from the homes of their members, they were considering the possibility of erecting one in a more convenient place. Third Haven Monthly Meeting appointed three Friends to assist them in this matter. They reported back at the next business meeting that this seemed to be the best thing to do, and the approval of the Monthly

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[3] Third Haven Minutes, I, 459, 512-513, 528; II, 156, 303.

[4] Cecil Minutes, II, 269, 285 (italics mine).

[5] Ibid., II, 316; Third Haven Minutes, II, 209.

Meeting was given.[6] There is no evidence, however, that anything was done at this time.

In all probability this lack of action can be traced to a new weakness that came upon Queen Anne's Meeting, for in 1772 a committee of the Monthly Meeting reported that they found

> by the Late removal of John George and family [to Duck Creek Monthly Meeting] and the Death of Isaac Turner there now remain only three women friends who are heads of families and some young people who belong to that meeting, that these few appear concerned to keep up a meeting on first days but that it is not Likely at present a week Day meeting will be kept up or that any report can be Expected to our monthly meeting from them.

Again and again between 1772 and 1787 Third Haven Friends expressed their concern about this small member meeting and, from time to time, appointed committees to visit with the Quakers of Queen Anne's Meeting to assist them in any way possible. Even with the frequent encouragement of neighboring Friends, the meeting weakened so that on one First Day in 1787 only one person attended meeting.[7]

In late 1790 the question of moving Queen Anne's Meeting arose once more, and "Greensborough or Choptanck Bridge" was suggested as the new location. Third Haven Monthly Meeting appointed a committee "to visit that meeting and feel after the propriety of Sd proposal and report to next meeting." Upon the committee's recommendation the moving of Queen Anne's Meeting was approved, and it was agreed on the 24th of Second Month, 1791, that Queen Anne's Meeting would gather at the house of John Boon until a meetinghouse could be built in Greensboro.[8]

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[6] Ibid., II, 402-403.

[7] Ibid., III, 12, 14, 85, 87, 150, 151, 153, 231, 237, 251. Perhaps it was the weakness of the meeting which encouraged Solomon Scott early in 1789 to trespass "on the Queen Anns Meeting house Lott and cut off the ground." Third Haven Monthly Meeting wrote to Solomon Scott in Sixth Month of that year suggesting some peaceful method of settling this trouble and, by the next month, received his offer to make recompense for the damage he had done in cutting their timber by exchanging a section of his land for the disputed area. Ibid., III, 259, 260-261.

[8] Ibid., III, 279, 280-281.

In April, 1791, a lot suitable for a meetinghouse and burying ground and in a convenient location was offered to the Friends of Queen Anne's Meeting. It was their plan to erect a small building, twenty-four by twenty feet, upon this lot and to dispose of the old meetinghouse at "the Nine Bridges." Toward the end of that year there is found the following minute:

> The Friends appointed to the care of Queen Anns meeting further Report that they have contracted for a lott of ground, and a house being begun thereon intending for a meeting house, all of which to compleat will require £138 . . 8 . . 8, which being considered is approved, and the clerk is directed to furnish each Preparative Meeting with a copy of this meeting minute and proceed to a collection.[9]

The construction of this building seems to have been rather slow, for it was not till early in 1795 that the Monthly Meeting recorded that the "Meeting house at Choptank Bridge is now completed according to contract" and authorized the committee to settle with the person employed to erect the building. In that year also a deed to this lot was procured from Batcheldor Chance and was ordered recorded in the Caroline County land records.[10] At the same time the name of the meeting was changed from Queen Anne's to Greensboro Meeting.

The Marshy Creek Quakers likewise were concerned with the condition and location of their meetinghouse. In 1781 Thomas Wickersham and Solomon Neall were appointed to examine the house and arrange for such repairs as they thought proper. Before this could be accomplished, however, Marshy Creek Friends also raised the question of moving the meetinghouse. A committee to consider this matter was appointed in Eleventh Month, 1781, but did not feel free to make a recommendation until Third Month of the next year, when they reported that "they see no disadvantage to the Cause of Truth to have the meeting removed, and they generally felt easiest with a place proposed on the South East side of a branch of Hunting Creek if a good title can be had thereto."[11]

Two years later, Marshy Creek Friends reported that they had located a half-acre lot on a branch of Hunting Creek, which the

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[9] Ibid., III, 284, 293.

[10] Ibid., III, 336, 346.

[11] Ibid., III, 142, 153.

owner, John Dickinson, was willing to sell them. William Edmondson, James Edmondson, and Solomon Charles were appointed to accept the deed for this lot and to proceed with the building of a meetinghouse twenty-four by twenty feet in dimensions. It later proved that John Dickinson was "not willing to give such a Title as Friends are free to receive," so that the committee finally reported that "the season being now far spent and no probability appearing at present that a Lott of ground can be obtained to build a meeting House on, the friends of that meeting are desired to repair their old one."[12]

As the eighteenth century drew to a close, the Society of Friends in Caroline County was apparently not a movement that made any great impress on the life of the surrounding community. Almost at the very end of the century, however, something occurred which probably more than doubled the size, strength, and influence of Caroline Quakerism. This was the admission of a sizable number of Nicholites into the Society of Friends—perhaps four hundred adults and children.

The Nicholites, followers of Joseph Nichols, had organized as a formal religious society in 1774. They held practically the same beliefs that the neighboring Quakers did, but were more strict in their conduct, particularly in the use of plain furniture and undyed clothes. Under the leadership of such men as James Harris, this group, also known as the "New Quakers," came to feel that it would be most beneficial to them to merge with the Society of Friends. Beginning in 1798, a large number of Nicholites applied for Friends' membership, until finally almost all of the members of that society had become Quakers.[13]

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[12] Ibid., III, 188, 196, 215.

[13] Concerning the Nicholites see my articles: "Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites of Caroline County, Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLV (1950), 47-61; "More About the Nicholites," ibid., XLVI (1951), 278-289; "The Nicholites of North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review,* XXXI (1954), 453-462; "Joseph Nichols, of Delaware: An Eighteenth Century Religious Leader," *Delaware History,* VII (1956), 37-48; "Additional Nicholite Records," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* LII (1957), 74-80; and "The Nicholites Become Quakers: An Example of Unity in Disunion," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association,* XLVII (1958), 3-19.

The Nicholites, at the time of their admission into membership by Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends, possessed three meetinghouses in Caroline County—Northwest Fork, at Federalsburg; Center, near Concord; and Tuckahoe Neck, near Denton. In an all-too-rare example of Christian love and unity, those who became Friends and those who remained Nicholites continued to worship together in their old meetinghouses. In 1799 the remaining Nicholites of Northwest Fork Meeting transferred the title of this property to the Society of Friends, and in 1803 the same thing was done by the Nicholites of Center.[14]

In Ninth Month 1798, Third Haven Monthly Meeting, after having sought the advice of Southern Quarterly Meeting, to which it belonged, agreed to establish meetings for worship and preparative meetings at Northwest Fork and Center. One month later, Elisha Dawson, later to become a well-known and widely traveled Quaker minister, and Edward Barton became overseers of Center, and James Murpha (Murphey) and Daniel Wright were appointed overseers of Northwest Fork Meeting.[15]

Before long, Northwest Fork and Center Friends felt that these two preparative meetings should be allowed to hold a monthly meeting for business. The committee appointed by Third Haven Monthly Meeting to examine this proposal suggested, late in 1799, that a monthly meeting be set up to include Center, Northwest Fork, and Marshy Creek meetings. The approval of the Quarterly Meeting having been obtained, Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting was finally set up in 1800, and the preparative meetings of Northwest Fork, Center, and Marshy Creek were instructed to report to that Monthly Meeting in the future, rather than to Third Haven.[16]

While this new monthly meeting, including the majority of Caroline Quakers, was coming into existence, there was an inter-

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[14] The transfer of these two properties is recorded in the volume which contains the Nicholite birth records. This volume, now a part of Third Haven Friends' records, is in the Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[15] Third Haven Minutes, IV, 11-12, 16, 18.

[16] Ibid., IV, 42, 54.

esting development in that part of Caroline County above the Choptank River in Tuckahoe Neck. One of the three Nicholite meetinghouses had been located in this area. For some unknown reason, perhaps either through its destruction or an absence of the love and unity which characterized the relationship of Nicholites and Quakers in the southern half of the county, this meetinghouse was never turned over to the Society of Friends, as Center and Northwest Fork meetinghouses had been.

The first mention of any Quaker group in this area of Tuckahoe Neck is on the 16th of Eighth Month, 1798, when a group of Friends asked Third Haven Monthly Meeting to permit them to hold an "indulged" meeting at the home of James Wilson. The next month, the Monthly Meeting agreed that "a meeting of worship is accordingly to be held by indulgence at James Wilson's on the 1st and 4th days of the week except the week of the Preparative Meeting at Tuckahoe [in Talbot County, near Matthewstown], which they are to be accountable to and desired to attend." Less than a year later, Friends of the Neck Meeting (as this group came to be known) requested the Monthly Meeting, through Tuckahoe Preparative Meeting, to "take under consideration the expediency of a meeting house built for their use." This matter of a meetinghouse still had not been acted upon by Fourth Month, 1801, when the Friends of Tuckahoe Meeting passed along to the Monthly Meeting at Third Haven the request of Neck Meeting for the "liberty of holding a preparative meeting." At this same time they renewed their request concerning a meetinghouse. The Monthly Meeting promptly granted them leave to build a meetinghouse, but permission to hold a preparative meeting for business was not given until Eleventh Month 1802. At this time Greensboro Friends were made a branch of Neck Preparative Meeting, rather than remaining a part of Tuckahoe.[17]

A committee was named to assist the Neck Meeting in finding a suitable spot for the newly authorized meetinghouse. A site was chosen by Sixth Month, 1802, and other branches of the Monthly Meeting were asked to contribute sixty dollars toward the cost of the building — the amount needed above that subscribed by Neck

[17] Ibid., IV, 16, 36, 65, 67, 82, 83.

Friends. This building, still standing today on the north side of the highway on the western approach to Denton, was quickly completed and the first meeting for worship was scheduled to be held in the new meetinghouse on the 26th of Ninth Month, 1802.[18]

As Caroline County Quakerism moved into the nineteenth century, it seemed a strong and growing movement. There were now five meetings; one (Greensboro) was a fairly weak one, to be sure, but there were four others which appeared large and healthy. Center, Marshy Creek, Neck, and Northwest Fork Meetings all had benefited from the merger with the Nicholites, whose society centered in this section. With the possible exception of the Methodist movement, which was spreading like wildfire through the Delmarva Peninsula at this very time, the Society of Friends was perhaps the strongest religious denomination in the county. By the end of the century, however, it had became one of the weakest (for reasons brought out later) and finally disappeared as an organized movement in 1946. One by one, the various meetings ceased to exist, so that by 1900 only Preston Meeting (formerly Marshy Creek) was still active. In the following pages we have a brief account of the remaining life of this Quaker movement in Caroline County.

The first session of Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting, set up in 1800 with the approval of Southern Quarterly Meeting, was held on the 16th of Seventh Month, 1800. The official representatives at this meeting were William Gray and Moses Leverton for Marshy Creek, Edward Barton and John Wright for Center, and John Pool and Hatfield Wright for Northwest Fork. A fair idea of the comparative size of these three meetings at this time can be gained from an examination of the assignment of proportions of the quota. Northwest Fork was to give 8/6 in the pound, Center 7/3, and Marshy Creek 4/3 in the pound. These ratios were changed from time to time as the years passed. In 1802 Northwest Fork was to furnish 9/0 in every twenty shillings, while Center and Marshy Creek were each responsible for 5/6.[19]

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[18] Ibid., IV, 78, 81.

[19] Minutes of Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting, I, 1, 7, 44. These minutes, complete from 1800 to 1946, are hereafter referred to as Northwest Fork Minutes. They are with the records of Third Haven Monthly Meeting, now on deposit in the Hall of Records, Annapolis.

With the establishment of the Monthly Meeting at Northwest Fork, it was found necessary to enlarge the meetinghouse there, given to Friends in 1799 by the Nicholites, in order to accommodate the larger Monthly Meeting gatherings. Therefore a committee was appointed to superintend the alteration of the building—"to erect and build an addition of twelve feet to the west end and erect a low gallery; run a sliding partition through the middle with such alterations as may appear necessary."[20] A stove was purchased at the cost of nineteen dollars in 1802. With the addition of some former Nicholites to the Marshy Creek Meeting, that building likewise was repaired and extended by twelve feet on one end in 1801.[21]

Perhaps the most significant development of Caroline Quakerism in the first decade of the nineteenth century was the laying down of Greensboro Meeting. By 1807 the meeting was so weak that a committee, appointed by Third Haven Monthly Meeting to visit Greensboro Friends, believed it would be best to discontinue this meeting and to unite its few members with Neck Meeting, near Denton. Three Friends were appointed to dispose of the meetinghouse and property as they thought proper in 1807, but they were unsuccessful, as appears from the appointment in 1810 of another committee charged with the same task. When a purchaser was finally located for the property (except for the section used as a burial ground), it was discovered that the meeting did not have power to make over a legal title to the purchaser. In 1821 the sum of twenty-five dollars was received for the house on this lot, paid to the meeting by T. Burchwell and R. Hughlett.[22] This is the last mention of this northernmost Quaker meeting in Caroline County.

Greensboro Meeting was a weak one to begin with, but the forces which brought about its disappearance were also at work on the other four meetings in Caroline County. It is not until the 1840s that one suddenly comes upon the results of these forces at

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[20] The partition was to separate the building into two parts so that the men and women could hold separate business meetings — a practice continued for more than half a century.

[21] Ibid., I, 5, 23, 45.

[22] Third Haven Minutes, IV, 130, 131, 145, 227, 231.

Center, Northwest Fork, Marshy Creek, and Neck. Then we read of meetinghouses moved, of quotas lowered, of weaknesses in these meetings. Although local conditions may have had a part in the decline and disappearance of Greensboro Meeting, in all probability there were other causes. Certainly in the case of the other four meetings the following were influential: emigration of Friends to the city and the west, slavery, the rigid code of behavior demanded of nineteenth-century Quakers, and the widespread appeal of Methodism to the people of the Eastern Shore. Each of these factors can be seen at work through a close examination of the records for this period. What is said here about the three meeting which made up Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting holds true likewise for Neck Meeting, still a part of Third Haven Monthly Meeting. The Great Separation does not seem to have had a divisive effect upon Caroline Quakerism; Eastern Shore Friends seem almost universally to have become Hicksites.

An examination of the minutes of Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting for the period 1801-1850 shows certificates of removal granted for one hundred and ninety-five people. Eighty-one of these moved their membership to neighboring Third Haven Meeting. Twenty-three moved within the border of Delaware monthly meetings. Baltimore received seven and Philadelphia gained two. The most striking thing about this migration, however, is that in this period nine moved to Ohio, while *sixty-eight* transferred their membership to White Water and Milford (Wayne County) Monthly Meetings in Indiana. A few Friends moved into Caroline from the neighboring areas, but their number was much too small to make itself felt when compared with the number of those who had left. As early as 1833, Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting speaks of itself as a *small* meeting "by reason of some going out and many moving out."

The continuation of the slaveholding system likewise was a depressing factor. Maryland Friends in 1777 had declared that it was unlawful for their members to own slaves.[23] The Nicholites likewise had held a testimony against slaveholding. People who

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[23] See my article, "Maryland Quakers and Slavery," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLV (1950), 215-225.

owned slaves would not be interested in joining a religious society which demanded manumission of all slaves. Even some people who were brought up within the Society of Friends slipped into the practice. In the first half of the nineteenth century *five* members of Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting were disowned for slaveholding. Jacob C. Wilson of Marshy Creek Meeting was retained in membership in 1828 after he manumitted the two slaves he had bought.[24] The existence of slavery in this area was one of the reasons why many Friends moved to Ohio and Indiana.[25]

American Quakerism developed a rigid code of behavior which it demanded of its members during the first half of the nineteenth century. From 1801 to 1850 a total of one hundred and thirteen members were disowned by Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting. Thirty-eight were disowned for "outgoing in marriage," two for marrying a first cousin with the aid of a priest, six for neglect of meeting, one for fighting, four for disorderly company, gambling, and swearing, and seven at their own request. Among the expulsions on more serious charges were two for selling whiskey, two for slandering friends and a brother, twelve for excessive drinking (usually coupled with "neglect of meeting"), five for slaveholding, eight for taking an active part in the militia, and twelve for "begetting an illegitimate child."

Still a fourth reason for the decline of Quakerism in this area was the rapid sweep of Methodism through the Delmarva Peninsula. The Anglican (later Episcopal) churches felt this first; some of their churches were abandoned, others nearly emptied. The Friends of Caroline County likewise felt the effect of this new movement. Eleven Northwest Fork Quakers are listed as being dropped from membership between 1801 and 1850 for attending or joining other societies and neglecting their own. Four of them became Methodists, while two others joined the "Reformers" (Methodist Protestant Church). In all probability most of the five listed as attending some "other Society" and the seven who resigned their membership actually were drawn into the Methodist

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[24] Northwest Fork Minutes, I, 362.

[25] Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History,* Johns Hopkins University Studies, Extra Vol. XV (Baltimore, 1896), deals with this problem.

movement. In these years there was a great deal of contact between the two groups and some exchange of members.

During this fifty-year period "convincements" total fifty-nine. The more emotional and "programmed" meetings of the Methodists possessed a greater appeal to the people of Caroline County than did the "quiet waiting" that marked the Quaker meeting for worship. The visits of fifty traveling Friends between 1801 and 1850, including the well-known Elias Hicks and Lucretia Mott, may have attracted a few, but they could not really compete with the traveling Methodist evangelists and the preachers in settled churches.

For the above and other reasons Quakerism in Caroline County suffered a slow but steady decline in members as the nineteenth century continued. By 1845 Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting, still containing three member meetings, had only thirty-four families and "parts of families" (where only one parent was a Friend).[26] The same weakness in numbers can be seen in the Neck Meeting at Denton, where it is reported in 1841 that some weekday meetings have been dropped "owing in part to the *fewness of number* and indisposition."[27]

At the middle of the nineteenth century, after fifty years of decline, several other developments can be seen. One is the moving of meetinghouses in all three of the southern meetings. In 1844 the Monthly Meeting appointed a committee to "take into consideration the propriety of moving Northwest Fork meeting house, or building one in a more convenient place for members thereof." It was decided at this time that it would be better to move the meetinghouse, at the cost of sixty dollars, when they found a suitable lot of ground containing about one acre. Nothing seems to have been done, however, for nearly three years later another committee was appointed to superintend the *building* of Northwest Fork Meeting's new meetinghouse in a more convenient place. This project was carried out, and a new building was erected about three miles west of the original Northwest Fork meeting-

[26] Minutes of Southern Quarterly Meeting of Friends, II, 154. These records are now with the Third Haven Minutes on deposit at the Hall of Records in Annapolis.

[27] Third Haven Minutes, IV, 327. Italics mine.

house, which had been located in Federalsburg. This new meeting place, built just over the county line in Dorchester, had its name changed from Northwest Fork Meeting to Pine Grove Meeting in 1848. In the next year a deed was handed in for the Pine Grove meetinghouse lot, and Joshua Noble was appointed to take charge of it and have it recorded.[28] This selection of Joshua Noble led to an important development much later, when there was an attempt to dispose of this meetinghouse property.

Although Marshy Creek Meeting was not relocated until 1849, there were efforts to bring this about as early as 1822, when this meeting proposed to the Monthly Meeting the moving of its meetinghouse "to some place where it may be more Central and Convenient to the main body of friends Constituting that meeting." In 1825 it was agreed to build a new meetinghouse "on the west side of the road leading from Hunting Creek to Fowling Creek, and between the Hunting Creek School house and the nearest corner of the farm where Thomas Walker formerly lived, say near about to where the cross path strikes off to go into the Dover or Easton road."[29] This decision was not complied with, however, and Marshy Creek Quakers continued to worship in their old building for nearly another quarter of a century.

In 1833 six Friends were appointed to inspect the old meetinghouse and determine whether a new one should be built and where. At this time it was felt best to repair it where it stood at the cost of sixty dollars. After the building was repaired, the local meeting was given permission in 1835 to move it to another lot if a clear title could be obtained. In 1848 Henry Corkran, William Meloney, and John Pool were appointed by Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting to examine the Marshy Creek meetinghouse and decide what needed to be done. Upon the recommendation of this committee the Monthly Meeting decided to leave the matter up to the Friends of Marshy Creek, freeing them to repair it or to build a new one as they saw fit. In Eleventh Month, 1848, Jonah Kelley and Henry Corkran were appointed

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[28] Northwest Fork Minutes, II, 115, 116, 136, 142-143, 151.

[29] Ibid., I, 265, 298.

to have charge of building a new meetinghouse "on the lot that may be obtained by friends of Marshy Creek for that purpose."[30]

In 1849 a new building for Marshy Creek Friends was erected at Snow Hill, as Preston was then called. The last monthly meeting (held alternately, at this period, at Pine Grove and Marshy Creek) at the old meetinghouse was on the 13th of Sixth Month, 1849. When the meeting was transferred to the new location in Snow Hill, the old house was given to colored people, who paid fifteen dollars for the land. The land for the new meetinghouse, one-half acre, had been purchased from James Dixon of Cambridge by Jonah Kelley, who gave it to the meeting.[31] In 1849 the name of the preparative meeting was changed to Snow Hill, and in 1876, it was changed again to Preston Meeting.[32]

Center Meeting likewise was relocated toward the middle of the century, after it had undergone a period of real decline. By 1839 Center was so weak that it was decided to lay it down as a preparative meeting and to allow the members to hold an indulged meeting (for worship only), attached to Northwest Fork Preparative Meeting. By 1843 the meeting had strengthened enough to request and receive back its status as a preparative meeting. In 1853 three Friends were appointed by the Monthly Meeting to consider Center's proposal to sell its meetinghouse and lot and build on another lot. The old house and lot had already been sold by Eighth Month 1854, when Center Friends were given permission "to procure a suitable lot and make preparations for building a new house." The new Center meetinghouse was reported about finished as the year 1854 came to a close, and the cost of the new building was recorded as one hundred and eighty-four dollars. With a credit of sixty dollars received from the sale of the old property, this left a total of one hundred and twenty-four dollars for the three meetings to raise and hand over to the building committee.[33]

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[30] Ibid., II, 16, 28, 35, 143, 145.

[31] Ibid., II, 149-150. A portion of this lot was deeded to Jonah Kelley in 1872 for a family burying ground; an adjoining area was deeded in 1898 to the heirs of Peter Willis for the same purpose (ibid., III, 92, 241-242).

[32] Ibid., II, 150; III, 113.

[33] Ibid., II, 70, 72, 102-103, 177, 183, 185.

Eight years later, at the end of 1862, Center Friends again requested and received permission to move their new meetinghouse to a more convenient place. It would appear that the building was moved shortly thereafter, for on the 14th of First Month, 1863, Willis Corkran was appointed "to give a deed on behalf of this meeting for the lot of ground whereon Center meeting house formerly stood." These moves of the meetinghouse proved ineffective in stopping the decline of Center meeting, so that in 1869 Jonah Kelley and Joshua Noble were appointed to visit Center Friends and try to ascertain whether they desired to continue or lay down the meeting. At this time Center Friends seemed to desire to continue. Three years later, John Pool and Willis Corkran were appointed by the Monthly Meeting to consult with Center Friends "in reference to disposing of their meeting house and also the laying down their preparative meeting, and if laid down to which meeting they would prefer being united." In Eighth Month, 1873, Willis Corkran reported that Center meetinghouse had been sold for thirty-five dollars.[34] Center thus became the first of the southern meetings to disappear.

With the laying down of Center Meeting in 1872, there remained only three out of the five Friends meetings which had existed in Caroline County, and two of these three had only a few more years of existence left to them. At the middle of the nineteenth century there was some activity and interest in the Neck Meeting, although it had become rather small by that time. A shed and horse stalls were built in 1852 for the use of attenders, costing thirty-seven dollars and fifty-three cents. In 1856 the meetinghouse itself was repaired. For three brief years, from 1877 to 1880, a school existed under the care of this meeting.[35]

Even at the time that Neck Meeting exhibited enough life to start its new school, a real weakness had come over the group. At the very beginning of 1878, Third Haven Monthly Meeting appointed four men Friends to meet with a committee appointed by the women's meeting to "confer with the Friends of Neck Preparative Meeting, at their request, in relation to the continuance of said preparative meeting." Midweek meeting for worship

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[34] Ibid., III, 43, 79-80, 95.

[35] Third Haven Minutes, IV, 392; V, 28, 39, 44.

was discontinued at Neck Meeting early in 1878, but First-Day meeting continued to be held. With the resignation from membership of C. P. Dunning, of Denton, in 1891, and the departure of Rachel B. Satterthwaite and her family from Denton soon thereafter, the last real strength of the Neck Meeting disappeared. And so, in 1897, the following minute was placed in the records of Third Haven Monthly Meeting: "As no Preparative Meeting has been held at the 'Neck' Meeting for years, it is the judgment of this body that as a Preparative Meeting it ought to be discontinued and its members attached to this body."[36]

Apparently meetings for worship ceased being held in Neck meetinghouse about this same time, if they had not already done so earlier, for in 1898 the Monthly Meeting gave permission to the "Dunkards" to hold meetings there for colored people twice a month. In 1899 the meetinghouse was rented by people at "Denton Bridge" for two dollars a month as a public school. In 1901 the property was sold to Edward Tylor of Baltimore, and legislative approval of this sale was obtained in the following year.[37] The property remained in the hands of Edward Tylor and his heirs until recent years, when it was acquired by the Choptank Electric Co-operative at Denton. In a fair state of repair, the old meetinghouse still stands in its grove of pine trees alongside the Co-operative's holdings.

Pine Grove Meeting ceased to exist at about the same time that the Neck Meeting was laid down. As noted above, Joshua Noble was appointed in 1849 to take charge of the deed of the Pine Grove property and have it recorded. As a result of Joshua Noble's death in 1870, there arose some confusion in later years about this property. A committee appointed in 1881, later reported:

> One of the committee, appointed to obtain and secure the title papers belonging to Friends in reference to their meeting house lots, namely Pine Grove in Dorchester County, and Preston in Caroline County, reports, he has found the original deed for Pine Grove and has obtained a copy of the deed for Preston meeting house lot. After due consider-

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[36] Ibid., V, 33-34, 112, 142.

[37] Ibid., V, 151, 156, 175, 177, 188. Third Haven Meeting received $200 for the property. This money was placed in an endowment fund, the income of which was for the upkeep of the burial ground at Easton.

> ation the names of Isaac Pool and Henry M. Pool were proposed to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Joshua Noble and Henry Pool, which was united with and they appointed.[38]

For a time, Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting for business had been held alternately at Pine Grove and Preston. The last monthly meeting held at Pine Grove was on the 11th of Seventh Month, 1888. Two years later, Richard Turner, Samuel Yeo, Tillie Bartlett, Helen Shreve, and Elizabeth Jenkins were appointed by Southern Quarterly Meeting to visit the members of Pine Grove meeting and to encourage them to keep up their meetings. The committee visited Pine Grove and, after due deliberation, advised that the meeting be laid down and its members attached to Preston Meeting.[39]

In 1892 Charles H. Willis was appointed to visit former members of the meeting to see if they or their friends wished to purchase the Pine Grove property "to save it from going to wreck." In 1899 it was decided to sell the property, either at public sale or otherwise, and to use the proceeds to improve Preston Meetinghouse and grounds. This proposed sale of Pine Grove was postponed,

> in order that the contesting parties, descendants of Friends, might make an offer for the property, even at a lower figure, rather than have trouble with them, as they have threatened us, coming up again today, part of the said contestants viz John Henry Noble, Mark Edward Noble, and Wm. Alfred Noble attended and said they "defied Friends to sell the property for they would spend every dollar they have to defeat the sale," asserting that we were "robbers to attempt to sell their property," and further said "they held the original deed" and shook it at us, saying that "we should never have it, that they held the title as heirs of their father, Joshua Noble," who was but one of the meetings trustees. These parties creating this trouble have refused to have anything to do with Friends for well on to thirty years and most of them belong to other churches. William T. Kelley has been directed to correspond with the Representative Committee of the Yearly Meeting over it, so as to do the right thing and in a legal manner.[40]

The Monthly Meeting decided to do nothing with the property at this time. In 1909 Jonah Springle Kelley, William Penn

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[38] Northwest Fork Minutes, III, 132-133.
[39] Ibid., III, 158, 167, 175-176.
[40] Ibid., III, 199, 242, 247-248.

Willis, and John Pool were appointed property trustees for the Monthly Meeting, holding in trust for the meeting both Pine Grove and Preston Meeting properties. In 1912 the question of selling the Pine Grove meetinghouse and lot, deeded by Silas Jones to the meeting trustees in 1847, was raised once more and was favorably considered, although no action was taken until the next year, when the three trustees were directed to sell this property. On the 2nd of Second Month, 1913, it was recorded that Pine Grove Meeting property had been sold for ninety dollars, which was being used to put a fence around the grounds of Preston Meetinghouse.[41]

With the passing of Pine Grove Meeting, there was left only Preston Meeting—originally known as Marshy Creek and then as Snow Hill—the earliest Quaker meeting to arise in what is now Caroline County. In 1882 the meetinghouse received needed window and door repairs and also had a new roof placed upon it.[42]

In Twelfth Month, 1894, Preston Friends discovered that their meetinghouse had been broken into and all the benches taken away. The matter was referred to George G. Dixon, justice of the peace, to investigate and to take whatever action he might see fit. Later it was discovered that "the Ladies Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church had been the cause of the trouble, although it was not authorized by them." An apology was received from the Ladies Aid Society and accepted by the meeting.[43]

In 1901 the Preston Friends Meeting extended to the Holiness Association, which was planning to build its own church, the use of the Quaker meetinghouse once a month. At about this very time, Preston Friends were thinking of building a new meetinghouse for themselves and on the 16th of the Second Month, 1902, decided to ask the Yearly Meeting for thirteen hundred dollars to erect a brick building with a slate roof and a vestibule. It was to be twenty by thirty-two feet in size.[44] A thousand-dollar grant was received from the Samuel Jeanes Meetinghouse Fund of Philadel-

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[41] Ibid., IV, 63, 90, 92-93.

[42] Ibid., III, 137.

[43] Ibid., III, 215-218.

[44] Ibid., III, 260, 263.

phia Yearly Meeting, and the meetinghouse was soon completed. The first meeting held in the new building was on the 17th of First Month, 1904. It was attended by John J. Cornell of Baltimore and by many other visiting Friends. That evening, John J. Cornell spoke in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and his message was "widely received."[45]

The membership of the Preston Meeting at this time was very small—no more than sixteen (six women and ten men) in 1899. By 1905 it had grown to twenty-three, and by 1913 to twenty-nine.[46] This 1913 figure, which included a number of children, was the largest number of members Preston Meeting was destined to have in the twentieth century. As the years passed, the resident group of members grew smaller through the death of the older Friends and the departure of the younger ones for the cities. Starting in 1935, the meeting was closed during the winter months. By 1944 there were only three active members. On the 7th of Seventh Month, 1946, it was proposed that Preston Meeting be laid down, and three months later the decision was made "to lay down or disband Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting [which since the 1890's had contained only Preston Meeting] according to the rules and regulations in the book of discipline."[47]

Thus it was that, approximately two hundred and twenty years after Quakerism first appeared in what is now Caroline County, the Society of Friends as an organized body disappeared from the county. Several members of Preston Meeting transferred their membership to Third Haven Meeting in Easton, and Third Haven today has active members living at Preston and near Denton. A handful of Friends, two old buildings, a few gravestones, and a collection of record books are all that remain to remind one of what was once an important religious force in the life of the community. Thousands of people on the Eastern Shore and scattered throughout the United States are descended from these Caroline Quakers but know little or nothing of the history and nature of their ancestors' faith.

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[45] Ibid., III, 269, 271, 275, 281-282. The *Friends Intelligencer* carried an account of the first meeting in the new Preston meetinghouse.

[46] Ibid., III, 251; IV, 98.

[47] Ibid., V. 23, 35, 39.

JOHN WOOLMAN'S READING OF THE MYSTICS

By W. Forrest Altman*

Somewhere in Nursery-Rhyme Land I have come upon a verse:

> It's a mighty strange thing,
> As strange as can be,
> That whatever Miss T. eats
> Turns into Miss T.

which will serve as a text for what I have to say upon the subject of John Woolman's reading: that Woolman, as a few have said recently, was a mystic in the fullest sense and that what is known of his reading habits supports a study of his writings in that claim.

"But," it will be objected, "Woolman was a conservative country Friend, a cultural primitivist; how would he have heard of the mystics? He was a traditional Quaker, not an avid reader, a pietistic small-town Friend and not a man of the world." True. "Besides, he was an active man: tailor, farmer, storekeeper, bookkeeper, surgeon, lawyer, surveyor, quasi-country parson. What affinity could he have with the cloistered mystic?"

But I answer that mysticism is the very basis of Quakerism and is implicit in the struggles of the Quaker journalists. Friends have rejected the idea of a special class of religious persons but have believed in the priesthood of believers, in the practice of genuine religion in the midst of activity, and in the reading of books written by those outside the Society who can aid them in their spiritual life. To this pattern Woolman was no exception. He *was* exceptional in the extent, the purity, and the fruits of his mysticism.

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At present the major materials for a study of John Woolman's reading are the following:

(1) a list of "Books Lent" in Woolman's handwriting;[1]
(2) the quotations and allusions in Woolman's *Journal* and other writings;
(3) conjecture as to materials which were available to Woolman and to which he was likely to have been exposed;
(4) internal evidence in his writing of influence exerted upon his thought and style by his reading.

Although all of these materials are discussed at length in the dissertion on which this essay is based,[2] emphasis is here given to the last. Nor will I attempt to summarize the discussion of Woolman's reading on subjects other than religion. Further, in spite of the very great effect of Scripture on John Woolman's thought and style, I shall here make no attempt to reproduce what is said in my dissertation on this subject. Rather, I shall concentrate on that part of Woolman's reading which supplies evidence of his mysticism.

I do this with some justification. At least one-third of the books on Woolman's list of "books lent"—and probably well over half—may be called works of pure edification; that is, works designed to improve the reader's practice of spiritual religion; and most of these reveal traits of either the speculative or the practical mystic. In the second place, Woolman's quotations and allusions derive either from mystical books or practical ones which he cites to bolster his arguments in behalf of a cause *to which his mystical orientation prompts him.* Many occur in his writings on slavery, the major obsession of his life and one to which he was drawn by mystical intuition. Finally, it seems to me that the mystical is the most interesting part of his reading and bears significantly upon Friends' reading habits today.

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[1] See Frederick B. Tolles, "John Woolman's List of 'Books Lent'," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association,* XXXI (1942), 72-83.

[2] W. Forrest Altman, "John Woolman's Reading," Publication 23,971, University Microfilms, Ph. D. Florida State University, 1957. This work and the one cited above supply evidence for the conclusions presented here.

Rufus Jones once said that John Woolman had a "soul like a sensitive plate in the presence of divine light."[3] To extend the figure: his reading served to renew the emulsion on that plate and sharpen the images on it. To speak in prose: Woolman's reading deepened his spiritual insights and brought into clearer focus the means of applying them in his personal life and in society. Since Friends have tended to minimize doctrines and creeds, it is interesting to notice that Woolman's reading of doctrinal works was generally confined to works which tended to breathe new life into old creeds. Similarly, even the one work of Quaker polemic which we know Woolman to have owned is written in a fervent, personal way, based on the writer's spiritual experience. Of the books upon practical religious problems which Woolman read it need only be said that both in the minds of the writers and in Woolman's practice there was a close relationship between hearing and doing the Word. Thus we can see that all of Woolman's religious reading had a tendency to make him a more sensitive, active Christian. Our purpose here, however, is to examine Woolman's reading of the mystics.

John Woolman read widely in religious books that cannot be called anything but mystical. One cannot claim that Woolman was aware in an academic way of all the strains of mysticism to which he was exposed, but that he was acted upon by the central truths of the tradition is undeniable. From the mystics whose books he read he could have pieced together a complete system of mystical theory and practice.

John Everard, a seventeenth-century Platonistic Puritan who influenced early Friends, supplied as much of the theoretical basis for mysticism as any of the writers Woolman read. Of one important basis for mystical practice, the immanence of Deity, Everard speaks continually. We must, he says, discard the childish idea, learned at nurse's knee, that God holds court at a certain place in the heavens, for "his kingdom . . . is everywhere, and Heaven is where he is, for he is everywhere."[4] Everard's statements about

[3] Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (London, 1921), I, 23.

[4] John Everard, *Some Gospel-Treasures Opened* (London, 1653), p. 736.

God's immanence in persons could have supplied the basis for Woolman's humanitarianism.[5] Sometimes Everard speaks not of the God but of the Christ within,[6] but He does us no good until we lay hold upon Him.[7] What Everard says about tracing God's light back to its source is important because it sounds like the later Quaker formulation of the doctrine of the Inner Light and because it illustrates the thinking of the mystical school which holds that one may find God by abstraction.[8]

The presence of God within the soul is a positive tenet of most forms of mysticism, but there are negative tenets too in Woolman's mystical readings. Mystics of the Middle Ages were haunted by the fear of death, which they found all about them, even in the Church, and by the conviction that man is essentially corrupt. Thus in *Desiderius, or the Original Pilgrim,* a work dating ultimately from the Middle Ages, Woolman encountered the supposedly comforting thought that man's fear of death is a cure for laziness and dullness in matters of religion and the idea that man is good only as he partakes of that divine goodness which created him.[9] And in William Sherlock Woolman found warnings of the imminence of death and the necessity of making solemn preparations for that occasion.[10] All of the saints' deaths recounted in the books we know Woolman read are happy occasions, and Woolman, in quoting passages on the deaths of Polycarp, Bishop Latimer, and William Dewsbury, shows that he too was concerned about dying well.[11] In his writing as well as his reading, Woolman

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[5] Ibid., pp. 132, 293.

[6] Ibid., p. 18.

[7] Ibid., p. 27.

[8] Ibid., p. 616.

[9] Lawrence Howel, translator, *Desiderius, or the Original Pilgrim: a Divine Dialogue* (London, 1717), pp. 65, 95.

[10] William Sherlock, *A Practical Discourse Concerning Death* (London, 1690).

[11] "The True Harmony of Mankind" in *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman,* ed. Amelia Mott Gummere (New York, 1922), p. 455.

was concerned with what a modern mystic has called "death's illumination of life."[12]

The techniques of mysticism as well as its philosophical basis are thoroughly discussed in the books Woolman read. Two requirements for the preparation of an individual for mystical vision are purgation of sinfulness and subjection of the will. The four citations that follow are only samples of the convictions of Woolman's authors on this point. In *Desiderius* we read that the pilgrim, before eating of the tree called *Vision* or *the Sight of God,* must purify himself through Holy Religion.[13] Sherlock says that "To mortifie all inordinate Appetites and Desires, to deny ourselves the sinful Vanities and Pleasures of this Life, for the Promises of an unknown Happiness in the next World, is our mystical dying to this world."[14] Everard holds that "so far as we lay down our selves, and all that is in us, or whatsoever is acted in us, at the foot of Christ . . . we shall see how he speaks all in all in us."[15] Finally, the editor of Woolman's edition of the works of Boehme makes it clear, in discussing true and false prophets, that though some are more gifted than others, one who in faithful simplicity yields his will is a true though perhaps not a great prophet.[16]

One mark of the mystic frequently cited to discredit mysticism is the belief in such "angelic messengers" as dreams, "night visions," locutions, and other visitations. Properly interpreted, the mystics say, these may yield something of value to the spiritual life. Virtually every one of the Quaker journals in Woolman's library records at least one rather suggestive dream, and many give more than one. It has been pointed out that these experiences are not without warrant in the experiences of St. Paul and other figures in Holy Scripture. And other writers than the Quakers among those Woolman read not only record visitations and dreams but also claim spiritual value for them. Woolman in turn makes

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[12] See Chapter V of Douglas V. Steere, *On Beginning from Within* (New York, 1943).

[13] *Desiderius,* pp. 171-172.

[14] *Discourse Concerning Death,* pp. 71-72.

[15] *Some Gospel-Treasures,* p. 76.

[16] Edward Taylor, ed., *Jacob Behmen's Theosophick Philosophy Unfolded* (London, 1691), p. 124.

much of such dreams, recording several in the course of the *Journal.* Even on his death-bed in distant England he felt compelled to write down the "Dream or Vision of the Night" told him over a year before by a friend in America.[17] One such dream he remembered from his boyhood until the time of his writing of the *Journal* at the age of thirty-five (or had recorded in a diary for later use in a journal). There is no doubt that Woolman intended these dreams to be printed for the edification of posterity, for beside an elaborate diagram illustrating one dream, Woolman wrote, "I do not want this figure printed. John Woolman."[18] Woolman, be it said to his credit, was not at all inclined to carry this vision-seeing to extremes of passionate ecstasy, as were some of the mystics. As a rule he would append some such mild statement as that "this dream was instructive to me."

We see, then, that Woolman could have gained insights into the basis, the techniques, and the values of mysticism from the books he read. Let us now consider whether in fact he embodied these insights in his life and writings.

Woolman, it is true, did not write a treatise on finding God, but his writing testifies to the genuineness of his spiritual experience and the fervency of his hope that others will share his happiness. In looking toward the day when all men will enter into the joy of the Lord, Woolman does not differ from any nonmystical writers on religion. The difference is this: for him God's revelations were the *means* as well as the *end* of the quest. Woolman did not teach a code of morality or any set of rules concerning religious practice; his method of religious discovery was to "feel our Holy Shepherd lead . . .".[19] And to him the Holy Spirit was not only Guide but also Comforter. This emphasis on God's immanence as a personal delight is the hallmark of the practicing mystic.

In Woolman it was not without fruits. An advocate of the leisure that provides the mystic with the opportunity for the "true

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[17] *Journal and Essays,* pp. 131-132.

[18] Ibid., p. 176 and note.

[19] "On Labour," ibid., p. 389.

calmness of life,"[20] he reaped the reward of "the opening of that Spring of living Waters, which the true Believers in Christ experience."[21] Because of the conviction, which he shared with his fellow mystics, that nothing is without value to the spiritual life, he found that "every tryal was a fresh incitement to give myself up wholly to the service of God, for I found no helper like Him in times of Trouble."[22]

What I have said thus far should indicate that although it is not easy to establish specific influences of the mystical writers upon John Woolman's mind, it is possible to find, in books he must have read, ideas which could have contributed to his development as a mystic. Even more fascinating to the student of literature is a study of the similarities between Woolman's style and those of the writers whose books he read. Of the many facets of this kind of study the one which is of special interest in connection with Woolman is his use of phrases and figures of speech drawn from his reading. When all has been said that can be said about the similarities between Woolman's style and those of the writers he read, it must be acknowledged that Woolman was an original and conscious stylist. Several of the authors he read include in their works comments on style which, along with the Quakers' convictions about plainness and efficiency in communication, could have provided Woolman with the basis for developing a prose style. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see what Woolman borrowed from the mystics: most of the space that remains will be taken up with a discussion of the use Woolman made of phrases and figures of speech found in the books he read.

Surprisingly, some qualities which appear quite strongly in the books Woolman read are not to be found in his work at all. One would suppose that a man striving for perfection would imitate the choicest parts of his models; but since Woolman was concerned more with efficiency of communication than with elegance of style, he overlooked some of their most conspicuous characteristics — extravagant figures of speech, sensuous evocativeness, energetic disputatiousness — yet in some ways his qualities parallel

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[20] "On the Right Use of the Lord's Outward Gifts," ibid., p. 394.

[21] "On the Slave Trade," ibid., p. 500.

[22] *Journal,* ibid., p. 159.

theirs: like most of them, he occasionally displays great fervor and authority, and like them he tends to deal mildly with evildoers and to overwhelm with Scriptural quotation. Some of the apocalyptic fire of the "First Publishers of Truth" singes the reader of Woolman's pages; in him too are to be found some of the niceties of style characteristic of polished writing: an occasional well-balanced sentence or a telling, homely analogy — and this in spite of the fact that Woolman was no scholar and was virtually innocent of punctuation rules.

Occasionally one comes across fascinating parallel passages in Woolman and his predecessors. Compare, for example, these two passages of Woolman and William Law for their similar use of subordinate clauses to express the same underlying assumptions. William Law says: "For if it be true, that Man is upon his Trial, if the Trial is for Eternity, if Life is but a Vapour, what is there that deserves a serious thought, but how to get well out of the World, and make it a right passage to our eternal State?"[23] Woolman, in the introduction to *Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes,* uses this language: "If then the Business of Mankind in this Life is, to first seek another; if this cannot be done, but by attending to the Means; if a Summary of the Means is, not to do that to another which, in like Circumstances, we would not have done unto us, then these are Points of Moment, and worthy our most serious Consideration."[24] It would perhaps be more difficult to prove a direct relationship between the famous words spoken by James Nayler shortly before his death ("There is a spirit which I feel . . .") and a similar passage in Woolman's *Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes* beginning "There is a Principle which is pure, placed in the human Mind"[25]; yet the two men express similar attitudes in a similar form. Such passages suggest that Woolman, in writing his *Journal* and essays, made use of a commonplace book in which he, like others of the time, preserved memorable thoughts and quotations. This speculation is further

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[23] William Law, *A Practical Treatise upon Christian Perfection* (London, 1726), p. 33.

[24] *Journal and Essays,* p. 336.

[25] *A Collection of Sundry Books, Epistles and Papers Written by James Nayler* (London, 1716), p. 696; Woolman, *Journal and Essays,* p. 380.

supported by an examination of the (to us, today) cavalier manner in which Woolman used material purportedly quoted from his sources, freely changing, cutting and adding without acknowledgment.[26]

Perhaps the most interesting facet of influences on John Woolman's style is his use of phrases more or less common to him and his sources. Of these the most exciting, because the most controversial, is his use of the word "pure," which Rufus Jones has called a "quietist word."[27] Of course, Woolman's quietism could have resulted directly from Scriptural influence.[28] And Reginald Reynolds somewhat naively suggests that Woolman may have got the phrase "pure wisdom" from an epistle of George Fox written in 1651 which contains the sentence, "Mind that which is pure to guide you to God"[29]; but more than twenty authors who probably influenced Woolman are equally likely sources; the word could also have come from Plato, who uses the expression "pure light" in much the same way that Woolman used phrases containing the word "pure,"[30] or from any of the Platonists, to whose influence Woolman was exposed indirectly through Everard.

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[26] See "John Woolman's Reading," pp. 229-237 for comparisons, arranged in parallel columns, of three quoted passages of Woolman and the originals from which they were taken: Humphrey Smith, Gilbert Latey, and George Fox.

[27] *Later Periods of Quakerism,* I, 67. Quietism, associated with the names of such mystics as St. Ignatius Loyola, St. Theresa, St. John of the Cross, St. Francis de Sales, Miguel de Molinos, Mme. Jeanne Guion and Archbishop François Fénelon, had as its theological basis the Protestant and Counter-Reformation doctrine of the evilness of man apart from God. It reached its fullest expression in the seventeenth century and, through a Quaker compilation of the writings of the last three mystics in the list above, affected the Society of Friends throughout the eighteenth. Quietistic mysticism stresses "building all inward" and "silencing the flesh." It seeks to arrive at union with God by means of a suspension of the individual will and consciousness. In its extreme form it is "beyond distinctions" of good and evil and may lead to dangerous practices.

[28] See Rev. xxii. 1, which Woolman cites on the first page of his *Journal.*

[29] Reginald Reynolds, *The Wisdom of John Woolman* (London, 1948), p. 47.

[30] See, for example, the *Phaedrus.*

During the most bitter days of the Puritan Revolution, the word was used widely in the "outward" sense of reform from the rituals and dogmas of the Established Church and could have had its effect on Woolman through whatever reading he may have done in the history of that reform. It is more likely, however, that the word and the concept came to Woolman through the Quaker tradition or, in a broader sense, through the more pious and law-abiding of the Anabaptists, with their intense feeling of individual responsibility to God for the condition of their souls and the souls of the world. This feeling gave rise to an emphasis on purity and to a consequent repetition of the word in various forms throughout the writings of the Anabaptists.

Wherever Woolman found the idea, or wherever the idea found him, the word occurs frequently in his writings, in many different combinations: "the pure Truth," "pure light," "pure obedience," "the pure gospel ministry," "the gentle movings of uncreated purity," and so on.

It is probable that the most important source of the word "pure" among the early Quakers was William Dewsbury, a copy of whose journal Woolman owned. In his works nearly fifty different phrases occur which use some form of the word: "pure love," "pure discerning," "pure religion," "the pure God," "pure obedience," "pure wisdom," "pure light," "his pure fear," "pure single eye," "his pure power," "pure contentation," "the pure presence of Christ," "the pure holy spirit," "the pure counsel of God," "his pure peaceable kingdom," "the pure eternal eye in you," "[God's] pure habitation," "a pure understanding," "the pure rest," "the one pure will," "the pure meek spirit," "pure attendancy [to Jesus' counsel]." At times Dewsbury seems to be using the word gratuitously, as in "the pure peaceable kingdom," or tautologically, as in "the pure holy spirit"; more than any other writer whose work we know Woolman read, he uses the word and stresses the quality, in both God and man.[31]

But Dewsbury is not the only one who stresses purity; the concept is important and the word frequent in both the Quaker and

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[31] *The Faithful Testimony of that Antient Servant of the Lord, and Minister of the Everlasting Gospel William Dewsbury* (London, 1689), passim.

non-Quaker reading of Woolman. From the beginnings of the Society to the writings of Woolman's contemporaries one may trace the word and the idea: in Francis Howgill,[32] in minor figures whose stories are related in Sewel's *History,* in Elizabeth Stirredge,[33] in John Gratton,[34] in Thomas Story,[35] in Humphrey Smith,[36] in Barclay's *Apology,* in John Jeffrys,[37] in John Fothergill,[38] in Woolman's older contemporary, John Churchman,[39] and in his friend Anthony Benezet.[40] The concept is to be found too in non-Quaker writings from Desiderius to Fénelon and Guion. In seeking the "pure river of life," Woolman was influenced by many mystics from past ages and from his own time.

Another interesting point of style which serves to establish Woolman as a mystic is his tendency to coin synonyms for the name of God and for other phenomena related to religious experience. Formalists tend to think of God as a person and use the word "Lord." Mystics as a group do not think of God in any traditional way; according to their degree of removal from organized and crystallized religion, they coin their own phrases to express the nature of God. In three ways mystics communicate their feelings and beliefs concerning the Deity: by mentioning one of God's attributes (e.g., goodness or mercy) and letting it stand as a synonym; by using a metaphor as a synonym ("the living foun-

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[32] *The Dawnings of the Gospel-Day, and its Light and Glory Discovered* (n. p., 1676).

[33] *Strength in Weakness Manifest* (London, 1711).

[34] *A Journal of the Life of that Ancient Servant of Christ, John Gratton* (London, 1720).

[35] *A Journal of the Life of Thomas Story* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1747).

[36] *A Collection of the Several Writings of . . . Humphrey Smith* (London, 1683).

[37] *A Serious Address to the People of the Church of England* (Dublin, 1739).

[38] *An Account of the Life and Travels in the Ministry, of John Fothergill* (Philadelphia, 1754).

[39] *An Account of the Gospel Labours, and Christian Experiences of a Faithful Minister of Christ, John Churchman* (Philadelphia, 1779).

[40] Anthony Benezet (?), translator, *The Plain Path to Christian Perfection* (Philadelphia, 1773).

tain"); and by the use of a combination (an abstract with an emotional word: "Divine Being"). John Woolman used all of these devices, and all are to be found in the books he read. Some, not all, are to be found in the Bible.

Many writers on Woolman have remarked his disinclination to use Quaker jargon. It is true that he did not favor an expression simply because it was standard "Quaker." He rejected, for example, "experimental" for "experiential" and "seed of God," even though standard Quaker books employed them. On the other hand, he adopted such words as "concern" and "Truth"[41]; but unlike other writers — for example, John Fothergill, who was a walking dictionary of Quaker jargon — Woolman used only a select few standard Quaker phrases. In reading Woolman, one is left with no doubt that he was a Quaker, but one finds enough that is expressed in his own fresh way to make him wonder where Woolman's Quakerism stops and his undifferentiated mysticism begins.[42]

With this mention of Woolman's use of Quaker jargon, the wheel has come full circle, and it is time to attempt some kind of summary and application. John Woolman is known today in the Society of Friends primarily because of his importance in reform, an aspect of religious expression which has always been important to Friends. Similarly, the Society has stressed from the beginning the importance of the practical in religion and in all of life. Further, Friends have felt that reading should be limited to the practical. Only recently have Friends lifted their strictures against

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[41] The use of the word "Truth" capitalized expresses the conviction that God's will can be ascertained to a degree by mystical means; the Truth is unchangeable and may be ascertained only approximately from age to age, our view of it improving with the perspective of years but remaining pure only under conditions of the mystical search.

[42] Other points on which Woolman may be compared with the writers of the books he read are the following:

(1) the distinction between "inward" and "outward," which is related to their and to his conviction that the inward life of purity is valuable in itself and separable from its outward expression;

(2) the use of several figures of speech comparing the action of the Holy Spirit with the movement of water in springs and fountains;

(3) the use of the figure of the hammer as a means of crushing the hardened heart.

reading for pleasure. Is there any relationship between practical mysticism and the limitation of one's reading? And if so, what are the implications of Woolman's reading habits and saintly life for our own practice?

In the large family of Samuel Woolman, the "few but choice" books in the family library were well read, especially on the Sabbath. Even the religious books in Woolman's library were "practical" in that they were intended to apply to life (one of the books Woolman lent was called *A Practical Discourse Concerning Death).* Woolman, we know through his own claim and through a study of his books, believed in limiting his reading to the spiritually useful, and the fruit of that belief was a life characterized by devotion and single-mindedness. His was an eminently useful, practical life, spiritually speaking. His spirit still speaks to ours. He was a visionary, yes; but he was also a person who worked to bring his vision into human affairs. Between the two there seems to be no contradiction but a harmony. Time spent in reading cannot be spent in acting; an imbalance can be frustrating (who has not felt this?). But Woolman apparently never knew this frustration.

To a certain extent one can understand the mysticism and social action of Woolman as arising out of the Quaker heritage, but the intensity of his devotion was supported by another staff. His reading, though it in some ways paralleled that of other Quakers living in his time, was more strictly concentrated upon religion, especially upon the mystical approach to religion. His reading of Roman Catholic mystics as well as the mystically-inclined of other sects exposed him to influences which either were not present in the education of other Quakers or were diluted by secular studies and recreation. Woolman never advocated reading merely for entertainment or even primarily for information. His reading served to intensify and channel his religious belief; it made him more conscious of the beauty of God's presence and blessing, and it gave him the power to act on his seemingly innate sensitivity to the needs of the Society and the World.

JACOB TAYLOR
QUAKER MISSIONARY STATESMAN

By LEVINUS K. PAINTER*

The first white people to establish residence in what is now the town of Collins, New York, came as Quaker missionaries to render service among the Seneca Indians on the Cattaraugus reservation. Within a year after the arrival of Jacob Taylor and his associates, other Quaker families came by way of the water-level route across New York to hew out for themselves homes in what was then the western wilderness. The representatives of the Philadelphia Indian Committee came for no selfish purpose: their sole concern was the welfare of their Indian brothers.

Jacob Taylor, born in 1760, at Kennett, Pennsylvania, was a member of Sadsbury Friends Meeting in Pennsylvania when he first felt led to undertake ministry among the Indians. Under the guidance of the Philadelphia Indian Committee he gave three years (1796-1799) of service among the Oneida Indians in central New York. This was followed by nine years of ministry among the Seneca Indians on the Allegheny reservation. When he came to Clear Creek to labor among the Seneca people on the Cattaraugus reservation, he had already given twelve years of service on reservations and was mature in years and experience. He never married and with almost tireless energy gave himself to his labor of love. Traditions regarding his height and weight do not agree, but it is safe to say that he was at least six feet five inches tall and

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in later years weighed well over 300 pounds. His physical bearing must have been impressive to both Indians and whites wherever he went.

As early as 1792, Philadelphia Quakers had visited the Senecas in the Cattaraugus area. In the next year, 1793, William Savery and five companions had traveled with the Indians of the Iroquois Confederacy and the representatives of the United States government to Detroit, where weeks of frustrating negotiations resulted in a stalemate. In the fall of 1794 negotiations were continued under somewhat more favorable circumstances at Canandaigua, but the Indian leaders refused to conclude a treaty till the Quakers, again under the leadership of William Savery, could be present.

The Indians finally signed the treaty on November 11, 1794. This and succeeding treaties pretty well established the boundaries of the western New York reservations. The tragic battle of Fallen Timbers, some months earlier, had forced the surviving Indian leaders to recognize the superior military power of the new United States government. With the signing of this treaty the glory and political power of the Iroquois Confederacy came to a humiliating end. After counseling as best they could with their Indian brothers, the Quakers turned from treaty-making to helping the proud people of the forest bridge the gap between cultures. There seemed to be no choice: if the remaining Indians were to survive, they would have to accommodate themselves, in some measure at least, to the white man's way of life. This proved to be a trying experience for both the Quakers and the Indians, yet a remarkable degree of confidence and understanding was maintained.

Within two years after the Canandaigua treaty was signed, Friends had established themselves among the Oneida Indians. At the age of thirty-six Jacob Taylor became one of this Quaker group and received his first training in Indian service. As indicated above, after three years of none-too-fruitful effort, Friends closed their center on the Oneida reservation and concentrated their efforts with the Seneca nation on the Cornplanter reservation in northern Pennsylvania and the Allegheny reservation across the line in New York. Cornplanter had been in correspondence with Friends since 1791, which was before the formal organization of the Philadelphia Indian Committee.

In 1799 Jacob Taylor with his companions and others sent from Philadelphia made a fresh pioneering venture among the Seneca Indians on the Allegheny reservation. The Indians on the neighboring Cattaraugus reservation, fifty miles north, soon observed the advantage of having Quaker neighbors to help them cope with the problems of living in a settled community in a restricted area. These problems were made more acute as a constant stream of white settlers hemmed them in on all sides. As early as 1799, the Cattaraugus Indian chiefs, led by Chief Warrior (Wa'ondegohta), had addressed a communication to the Quakers in Philadelphia asking for help in securing irons for setting up a sawmill and for instruction in better ways of farming. Thomas Stewardson and Joshua Sharpless were appointed to take a reply in person, and at the same time the mill irons were dispatched in care of William Johnson in Buffalo.

The Indians had trouble operating this mill, however, and it never functioned effectively. A letter from the Cattaraugus chiefs, dated January 22, 1800, expressed thanks, but asked for help in building the mill.[1] The Quakers could spare no person from their staff who could set up a sawmill and teach agriculture. They did, however, send tools, "instruments of husbandry," in 1799 and again in 1801. Meanwhile, the Quakers were having a difficult time maintaining a sufficient staff at Tunesassa on the Allegheny reservation, where their work was just getting started. It was not until 1807 that they felt sufficiently well established to consider extension of their work and to prepare the way for a permanent staff to reside on or near the Cattaraugus reservation.

Before beginning work on the Allegheny reservation, the Philadelphia Indian Committee had addressed a communication to President Washington, informing him of their concern to labor among the Seneca Indians of western New York. They received an encouraging reply from Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State. Pickering also addressed a letter to the Indian chiefs and other letters to the Indian agent, Israel Chapin, and to the official interpreter, Jasper Parish. He requested Chapin and Parish to explain

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[1] Unless otherwise indicated, all references and quotations are from the records of the Indian Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting at the Department of Records, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

to the Indians the purpose of the Quakers and encourage them to open the way for the Quakers, "whose sole object is their [the Indians'] happiness." This letter, dated February 15, 1796, is worthy of more extended quotation: "I have great pleasure to inform you that your good friends, the Quakers, have formed a wise plan to show your young men and boys the most useful practices of the white people. . . . These good men will do this only for the love they bear to you, their fellow men, as children of the Great Spirit, whom they desire to please." Merle H. Deardorff and George Snyderman pay tribute to the unique service rendered by Friends among the Indians: "It is likely that the Quakers were the only missionary group which considered the Indians first as humans who needed help in a rapidly changing economy, and then as possible converts to a specific sect of Christianity. . . . The Indians must learn new ways of making a living before they could turn to the white man's religion."[2] In 1807 the Philadelphia Indian Committee instructed Jacob Taylor to visit the Indians on the Cattaraugus reservation "without apprising them of the present intentions of the Committee and to obtain a general and correct knowledge of their circumstances . . . their habits of industry and the state of agriculture among them . . . and to discover if there is any stream of water that warrants the erection of a small grist mill. . . ." Jacob Taylor reported poverty, prevalence of drinking, and "indisposition to work." However, he felt that help should be extended. He found a location on a small stream (the south branch of Clear Creek) adjoining the reservation on the east that was suitable for the erection of a mill. He also suggested that plow irons and log chains be provided at the first opportunity. He did further investigation in the spring of 1808 and reported to the Indian Committee from Batavia that on June 8, 1808, he had contracted with Joseph Ellicott, agent for the Holland Land Company, for the purchase of land on Clear Creek just east of the Cattaraugus reservation in what is now the town of Collins. The contract is worthy of quoting in full:

> Jacob Taylor on account of the Society of Friends contracts to purchase from 5 to 7 hundred acres of land to be located on the north

[2] "A Nineteenth-Century Journal of a Visit to the Indians of New York," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* C (1956), 583.

west and south west corners of Township 607 [later designated as Township 7] in the 8th Range of Townships of the Holland Land Company. As the purchase is for the establishment near the Indians at Cattaraugus for the purpose of instructing them in the habits of civilized life, the Holland Land Company, considering the object of so laudable a nature, have agreed to dispose of said land at $1.55 per acre cash, and also to contribute $2.00 per mile toward making a horse road from or near Sturgeon Point on Lake Erie to the land aforesaid, and the same price per mile if the same horse road be continued thence until it shall intersect the Pennsylvania Road leading from Cattaraugus to the Allegheny River.

The said Jacob Taylor having hereby liberty given to take immediate possession and commence improvements.

On October 4, 1809, a deed was drawn for 700 acres and the title invested in the name of the Philadelphia Indian Committee. On this deed there is a scale map showing the location and giving the survey details of the four plots of land forming a single block in Townships 6 and 7. The Philadelphia Indian Committee actually paid only a little over $1,000 for 700 acres of land after deducting the allowance for road building.[3]

The Philadelphia Indian Committee was always careful in regard to public relations with the Indians as well as with the Federal Government. Extracts of their message to the chiefs on the Cattaraugus reservation reveal the deep concern of the Quakers for their Indian brothers:

Brothers, we have been many years endeavoring to show your brothers at Allegheny the advantage of cultivating the earth and raising domestic animals and we trust that many of you have been eye witnesses to the improvements that they have made and the benefit they have experienced by following our advice and the example we have set before them. . . .

Brothers, we believe it right to purchase a piece of land adjoining yours to accommodate such Friends as might feel disposed to reside there and to render you some instruction in the cultivation of your land or otherwise promote your welfare. . . .

Brothers, we wish you to remember that this happy development will depend on the part you take. You must not expect our Friends to do all the work for you, but lay hold of the plow and the hoe your-

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[3] By air line the land purchased is fourteen miles from Sturgeon Point on Lake Erie.

selves. Teach your boys to be industrious while they are young. Your young men must give up the false notion of honor if you expect to reap the productions of a fruitful field. . . .

Under the same date the female chief, Oyongogoss, addressed a communication to the Indian Committee in which she said, "I am very thankful for the knowledge I have acquired from your women." She went on to express appreciation for the instruction given the Seneca women in spinning and weaving. The writing of this message reveals something of the high position of women in Indian social and political life.

Under the leadership of Jacob Taylor the Quakers started building a house in the fall of 1808. At the same time they contracted for the clearing of twelve acres of land and got about six acres of wheat sowed. However, they did not get the house sufficiently completed for winter living before cold weather set in, so it was necessary for Jacob Taylor and Benjamin Cooper to return to Tunesassa for the winter months. The difficulties of travel and transport are indicated in the rather matter-of-fact record of the transfer of goods and household equipment from Tunesassa to Clear Creek in June, 1809:

We arrived here after a journey of five and one half days, and although the road in many places was much obstructed by bridges being carried away and much fallen timber, we got through with safety sooner than we expected without any manner of accident. [The total distance is less than fifty miles.]

A respectable man was engaged early in the spring to clear fifteen acres, [which] with what is now already cleared or under way will make in all about thirty acres. He has lately moved here with his family. . . . The wheat we sowed last fall looks promising. . . .

Later in the same year, four Philadelphia Friends representing the Indian Committee traveled to western New York to observe developments at first hand. The delegation consisted of Amos Lee, John Brown, Thomas Stewardson, and William Alliston. The usual course of travel was over the mountains to Pittsburgh and then up the Allegheny River, a trip of about 500 miles. They brought with them a letter addressed to the Indians of Cattaraugus, commending them for their progress and exhorting them against the evils of strong drink. As was customary, the Indians replied in an extended message addressed to the Indian Committee. The

tone of the letter is revealed in this brief quotation: "We are thankful for your friendly advice. Our hearts rejoice for the good counsel you have given us and we ask you to keep your minds strong toward us."

Stephen Twining had joined Jacob Taylor, Benjamin Cooper, and Hannah Jackson at the Clear Creek farm. They wrote to the Committee under date of December 18, 1809, that the house had been put in condition for winter and that crops had turned out well. Ten acres of wheat had been put in and twenty-seven acres of land cleared. They also observed that the use of liquor among the Indians had appreciably declined and that the Indians were evidencing a reasonable degree of industry. They stressed the need of a gristmill and for more hand tools. A further interesting comment is made: "A number of Friends have recently purchased land in this neighborhood, [so] that a considerable settlement is expected will shortly be made. Suitable persons may be found among them to aid in the concern, especially in weaving, etc. . . ."

The Aldrich family had taken up a considerable tract of land on Cattaraugus Creek above the reservation, where the village of Gowanda now stands. Other Quaker families were arriving from Saratoga County and from Vermont. A Preparative Meeting had been set up at East Hamburg (Orchard Park) in 1807, and by 1810 there were a few Friends meeting for worship in Buffalo. A meeting was established at Shirley in 1813. Not until 1814 is there specific reference to a meeting for worship at Taylor Hollow, but it was the custom of Friends, wherever they were, to have their "time of silent waiting on First Day." We can assume that as soon as the Quaker household was established on the Clear Creek farm the Sabbath Day became a day of rest and worship. When a man came across the hills from Zoar valley on horseback on the Sabbath with a bag of corn to be ground, Jacob Taylor promptly sent him home.

In 1810 Friends at Cattaraugus had a conference with Red Jacket, then living on the Buffalo Creek reservation, and other Cayuga sachems about training their young men in crafts and providing them with desired tools. Red Jacket recognized that their young men must be trained to live in the white man's world and wanted Friends to give them guidance in "agricultural pursuits."

He was also in favor of sending Indian young men to Philadelphia to live in the homes of Friends that they might learn the white man's ways. Apparently he was thinking in terms of his own family. The death of two of his children soon afterwards must have dimmed his hopes of such a venture. Excerpts from Red Jacket's speech show his warm feeling for the Quakers:

> I am unable to express the thankfulness I feel for the many acts of kindness your Society have shown to us, particularly when the old gentlemen [John Elliott and companions] attended at our treaties and I am happy in observing your disposition to pursue the same track of conduct your fathers observed toward the Indians. . . . Now I return [thanks] to you, on behalf of myself and the three chiefs present, for the present you make to us [hand tools] in order to brighten the chain made by your fathers and ours.

The phrase "brighten the chain" was frequently used both by the Indians and the Quakers in their communications. These messages, filling hundreds of handwritten pages in the Indian Committee records, reveal concern and understanding on the part of the Quakers and confidence and appreciation on the part of their Indian brothers. Sometimes the Quakers did much exhorting and gave pointed advice, but it was done in love and was received without resentment.

Soon after the arrival of Jacob Taylor and his companions at the Clear Creek farm, the Holland Land Company sold "pre-emption rights" to the Cattaraugus reservation to the Ogden Land Company. Of course the Indians were not informed of this action. In May 1809, Jacob Taylor received a letter from Joseph Ellicott, land agent in Batavia, introducing Thomas L. Ogden of New York City, one of the proprietors of the "pre-emption rights." Ellicott requested Jacob Taylor to find out the attitude of the Indians regarding their disposition to sell or exchange their lands for areas in the west. Thus began the first of a long series of efforts on the part of the Ogden Land Company to dispossess the Seneca Indians on the Cattaraugus reservation. Only fifteen years earlier, the Federal government had guaranteed reservation lands to the Indians in the treaty of Canandaigua.

The Ogden Land Company tried to enlist the aid of the Quakers. Obviously they did not know the Quakers. During the next three years repeated efforts were made to negotiate with the

Indians. Jacob Taylor gave the Indians his moral support and used his influence effectively. His towering figure, backed by a strong personality and a righteous cause, made him a person to be taken seriously. At the same time, the Philadelphia Indian Committee was supporting him with letters to Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State. Pickering knew many of the Quakers personally and held them in high regard. Philadelphia was far away, but Jacob Taylor stood, an alert watchman, on the border of the reservation. The Indians kept their lands, but the Ogden Land Company showed no great love for the Friends. There is good reason to believe that the Indians would have lost the entire reservation had it not been for the efforts of Jacob Taylor and the supporting Indian Committee in Philadelphia. The events of history were for the moment on the side of the Indians.

The records reveal no activity of the Ogden Land Company during the War of 1812. This disturbance was not conducive to land speculation on the Niagara frontier. In fact, a considerable number of settlers left their holdings and retired temporarily to areas of greater security.

But military activities did not greatly disturb the Quakers. Jacob Taylor and his companions remained quietly on their Clear Creek farm. They were witnesses demonstrating creative spiritual power that is not challenged by the instruments of war. A sawmill and a gristmill had been completed in the fall of 1811. The Indians were enlarging and fencing their clearings and a few had acquired oxen and carts or wagons. They were taking advantage of Jacob Taylor's sawmill to convert logs into lumber with which to build better houses. The Ogden Land Company was forgotten for a time, but the tensions of the white man's conflict shook their confidence in present or future security. The Quakers advised the Indians to stay out of the conflict, for they had no stake in the war. Only twenty short years before, war had destroyed the political power of the Iroquois Confederacy and sadly decimated the Indian population in western New York. Most of the older men had vivid memories and stayed at home. Some of the younger men, craving excitement and with nothing to lose, responded to the urging of the white military leaders, only to find themselves fighting against some of their Indian neighbors from across the Canadian border.

With the return of more normal conditions following the war of 1812 the Quakers gave consideration to further expansion of their services to the Indians. They had made a start in teaching the men about farming, livestock raising, and building better homes. They had started the production of flax, and the Indian women had proved themselves adept at spinning and weaving. In one year they wove 101 yards of cloth and sold it to white settlers.

Following the war, the matter of the Ogden Land Company "pre-emption rights" was again disturbing both the Indians and the Quakers. The wise counsel of Jacob Taylor materially aided in preserving the Indian lands intact. The Indian Committee in Philadelphia suggested that it might be wise for the Indians to shift from tribal ownership to private ownership of land in order to assure continued possession, but the Indians were not yet ready for such a move.

Friends felt that they must make a start in the education of Indian children. Joseph Harlan, a teacher at Tunesassa on the Allegheny reservation, visited Cattaraugus in 1814 and remained for some months, but no mention is made of opening a school, though the possibilities must have been explored. In a letter dated December 16, 1816, Jacob Taylor proposed to the Committee that a school be set up. Two more years went by before Issachar Mann of London Grove, Pennsylvania, arrived at Cattaraugus. He opened a school during the summer of 1818. In a letter of September 17, 1818, Jacob Taylor and Issachar Mann reported: "The Cattaraugus Indians are favorably disposed towards the school which for the most part has been attended with as much regularity as could be expected." The next month they reported that the school at Cattaraugus had terminated favorably. Mann returned to his home in 1820, and the school was temporarily suspended until a new teacher could be found. Meanwhile, a school building had been erected.

At least a beginning had been made in introducing the white man's culture through classroom teaching. Very obviously, methods of teaching had to be adapted to the intellectual and cultural background of Indian children. Three decades later, formal education had not made very impressive progress in the Indian com-

munity. Indians were wise in the ways of forest and field. They were keen judges of human nature when gathered in the council ring. Within their own pattern of living they had a stern sense of justice. But only a few of the far-seeing Indian leaders were aware of the kind of education Indian children would need in the new order of society that had been thrust upon them. True education leads to and prepares the way for a ripening culture, of which only the rudiments can be obtained in the classroom.

Under Jacob Taylor's leadership the Quakers had helped the Indians through the first and perhaps the most difficult stage of adjustment to reservation life. After twenty-five years among the Indians he terminated his service with the Indian Committee in 1821. No one of his experience and ability seemed to be available to assume responsibility. He purchased a small tract of the 700 acres of land he had done so much to develop over a twelve-year period. He assured the Indians that the school would continue, and it did continue as teachers were available. The effort to make farmers after the white man's pattern, however, was destined to meet with very limited success. These people who had made portions of the Genesee valley "blossom as the rose" did not easily accommodate themselves to the new ways. Raising crops had been the work of women. Hoeing corn and care of livestock seemed to be a poor substitute for following the warpath or the animal trail. The old initiative and the spirit of independence had been crushed. At best reservation life was, and still is, an abnormal state of society.

Within a few years of the withdrawal of the Philadelphia Indian Committee from the Cattaraugus reservation, the Hicksite separation took place within the Society of Friends. The Philadelphia Indian Committee came under the control of the Orthodox or Gurneyite branch. They continued their educational program on the Tunesassa reservation. Jacob Taylor, retired but still living on the Clear Creek farm, affiliated with the Hicksite Friends. A Baltimore Indian Committee of the Hicksite Friends interested themselves in the Cattaraugus reservation and undertook some educational work. As early as 1847 an attempt was made to establish an orphanage for Indian children. However, it was left to Ashur and Laura Wright, Presbyterians, who had come to Cattar-

augus following the liquidation of the Buffalo Creek reservation in 1845, to gather a few Indian children together in 1855 and to start the institution which later became known as the Thomas Indian School.

Following the death of Jacob Taylor in 1839, the Philadelphia Indian Committee turned to members of Collins Monthly Meeting, who became custodians of the property and were delegated to care for the Committee's interests on the reservation. In 1841 Moses Varney, a local Friend, was operating the sawmill and Augustus Smith had charge of renting the farm land until its sale in 1850. Two nephews of Jacob Taylor settled in the town of Collins. Several of their descendants are active in local community affairs today, and four are at present members of Collins Friends Meeting.

On August 24, 1958, a service was held in Collins Friends Meeting dedicated to the life and service of Jacob Taylor and marking the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of his purchase of the Clear Creek property for the Indian Committee. Philip Taylor, representing members of the Taylor family, participated in the service of commemoration. A suitable historical marker was erected near where Jacob Taylor was buried on the land purchased from the Holland Land Company in 1808.

Notes and Documents

GENERAL FRANCISCO DE MIRANDA AND THE QUAKERS

Translated by Samuel J. Bunting, Jr.

General Francisco de Miranda, the hero of Venezuela, forerunner of the independence of his country, fought against the English in Louisiana during the War for American Independence while he was still in the service of Spain. A few years later, he undertook the first of his great journeys, in the course of which he traveled over a large part of Europe, including Russia. Leaving the Antilles, he first visited the United States, which had just signed the peace treaty with England. He landed in North Carolina in May 1783, and remained in the United States until December of the following year, when he sailed for England. During his travels in Pennsylvania and other states along the Atlantic, he was received and entertained by the great personages of the time. A shrewd observer and an easy narrator, the young Latin-American military man wrote his impressions in a diary, which was published for the first time in 1928.[1] From it we quote two interesting paragraphs which refer to his attendance at Quaker meetings, the first in Philadelphia, the second in Newport, Rhode Island.

[Philadelphia, December 1783] The principal church of the Quakers (there are four or six in the city) or Quaker Meeting,

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[1] *The Diary of Francisco de Miranda: Tour of the United States, 1783-1784,* ed. William Spence Robertson (New York, 1928), pp. 36-37, 104. The passages relating to Friends were briefly paraphrased and translated in "A Spanish Officer among the Quakers," *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society,* XLVI (1954), 35-37.

as it is called, is in Market Street near the city hall.[2] Its architecture is completely devoid of elegance, without ornamentation, many benches arranged in various parts for the accommodation of the congregation, a small rostrum or gallery in which are seated the accredited ministers (that is, those known to the congregation as pious, educated men, who have official recognition of this and enjoy a certain pre-eminence in this line); and a division for the women, everything rather neglected, little taste and not much cleanliness. These [i.e. the gallery and the "shutters" separating the sexes] are the only ornaments which are seen in the interior of the church. To which one can add some small candlesticks of tin plate leaning against the walls and pillars with their tallow candles which give a dim light at the time of evening services. One of the last nights, I attended the services which began at six o'clock and adjourned at eight.

The whole congregation was seated on the benches, their hats on and their heads bowed in deepest silence. Then the neighbor on my left arose and in a loud voice said to the others: "My Spirit says that God shall not always tread upon Earth because he is in Heaven."[3]

A little later, another of the principal ministers (my neighbor is supposed to be only a beginner), taking for his text a proverb that says "Think twice and lead once,"[4] gave a sermon of more than an hour and a half in the style of our pompous friar preachers.

Another voice, mournful and emphatic, apparently that of a woman, recited the Lord's Prayer, beginning "Our Father," and then everybody stood up and shook hands with the greeting of "Friend," and we all left the church together, men and women, noting that some of the latter even shook hands with the men, calling them "Friend."

Notwithstanding the large size of the gathering, I was unable to see any of the convulsions or trembling which these people are

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[2] The so-called Greater Meeting House at Second and Market; the "city hall" is probably the old court house beside it.

[3] Miranda quotes these words in English.

[4] The author of the article in the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* (noted above) suggests that perhaps the proverb was "look before you leap."

supposed to affect in church when they feel moved by the Divine Spirit; still less any other ceremony that merits the title of ridiculous. I confess, nevertheless, that it seemed odd to me that a people remarkable for their religious quality, for their judgment and cleanliness, put so little care into the architecture, ornamentation, and the cleanliness of their churches.

* * *

[Newport, September 1784] This afternoon (Sunday) at three o'clock I was in the church of the Quakers, in whose company I was until five o'clock without anyone saying a single word.

During this time I amused myself with a leisurely inspection of the dress and faces of the womenfolk in the gathering, being able to assure myself in all frankness that no one could imagine either more simplicity, cleanliness, and good taste in the former, nor more natural and unaffected beauty in the latter. I am firmly persuaded that the coloring of Rubens and the natural flesh colors of Titian could never imitate that which Nature offers here in the face and skin-complexion of these simple Quakers without a grain of powder or makeup on any one of them.

Suddenly we all arose, shook hands, calling each other "Friend," and each departed his own way.

Quaker Research in Progress

Information concerning Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 774 Millbrook Lane, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Matthew Baigell, Department of the History of Art, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Penna. Owen Biddle: House Carpenter and Architect. (Architecture in Philadelphia, 1785-1805.)

Barbara Bowden, 2, West Walk, East Barnet, Herts, England. Anti-Quaker Literature in the Seventeenth Century. University of London: History, thesis for M.A. degree.

Else Chu (Mrs. Jeffrey C. Chu), 200 Wister Road, Ardmore, Penna. The Sowle Family: Printers for the Friends. (Sketch of the activities of the publishing firm established by Andrew Sowle.)

Sylvia G. L. Dannett, 9 Reimer Road, Scarsdale, N. Y. Rebecca Wright, Quakeress of Virginia.

Virginia L. Emrey, 639 Baltimore Pike, Springfield, Delaware County, Penna. Quaker Merchants in the Philadelphia Area, 1765-1777: Their Decisions and Activities regarding the Revolutionary Movement. University of Pennsylvania: Economic History, thesis for M.A. degree.

Theodore R. Garrison, 712 East 4th Street, Russellville, Arkansas. John G. Whittier, Pioneer Regionalist and Folklorist. (An analysis of Whittier's approach to regional history and legend; a reassertion of his significance in this field as opposed to the growing tendency to consider only his crusading humanitarian aspect.) University of Wisconsin: English, thesis for Ph.D. degree.

J. Welfred Holmes, Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland. Whittier and the Indian.

Arnold Lloyd, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. Quaker Social History. Volumes II, III, and IV. (A continuation on the same plan as Volume I, but covering Amer-

ican Quakerism and subsequently the spread of Quakerism over many parts of the world.)

Hanna Darlington Monaghan, Buck Hill Falls, Penna. "Dear George." (An intimate biography of George Fox as a modern prophet.) Completed.

Maurice A. Mook, Boalsburg, Penna. Quakerism and Folklore. (The folklore of Quakers, folklore concerning Quakers, Quaker folklorists.)

John N. Pearce, 2300 West 17th Street, Wilmington 6, Delaware. The Early Baltimore Potters and Their Wares, 1763-1850. (Including a report of the Quaker families who dominated the craft in its first fifty years.) University of Delaware: thesis for M.A. degree. Completed.

David E. Swift, 91 Cross Street, Middletown, Connecticut. Joseph John Gurney, Evangelical and Quaker. (An analysis of the impact of rationalism, Evangelicalism, and Quakerism upon Gurney's thought and career as student, Christian, and Friend; as banker, writer, educator, Friends minister, and philanthropist-reformer.)

John Joseph Stoudt, 218 Nassau Place, Norristown, Penna. Studies in American Mysticism. (Part I deals with the emergence of Affirmative Mysticism; Part II with American forms, including Quaker mysticism.) Completed.

Evelyn S. Whiting, Old Quarry, Almeley, Hereford, England. History of Quakers in Wales and the Welsh Border.

James W. Wolfenden, 21 Walnut Street, Bristol, Connecticut. English Nonconformity and the Social Conscience, 1880-1906. (The new liberalism and socialism as reflected in Nonconformist, including Quaker, opinion.) Yale University: History, thesis for Ph.D. degree. Completed.

Esther Littler, Route 3, Box 880D, Indianapolis 41, Indiana. The Relation of Group Dynamics to the Doctrine of Guidance, as illustrated in the lives of representative Quakers. Christian Theological Seminary: thesis for M.A. degree.

Edward Martin Hunt, 10 Palmer Avenue, Willerby, near Hull, East Yorkshire, England. The North of England Agitation for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1787-1797. Manchester University: History, thesis for M.A. degree.

Historical News

Friends Historical Association

The Spring Meeting of Friends Historical Association was held at Chesterfield Meeting, Crosswicks, New Jersey, on Fifth Month 16, 1959. Many of the 130 members and guests who attended took the opportunity before the meeting of visiting places of historic interest in the neighborhood, including Copany Meetinghouse—now remodeled as a private residence. Arthur Brick, a member of Chesterfield Meeting, opened the afternoon program by sketching the history of the meeting, which dates from 1677. The principal speaker was Professor Theodore Thayer of the Newark Colleges of Rutgers University, whose subject was "Nathanael Greene: His Views of Eighteenth-Century Quakerism." At the conclusion of his address a number of Friends spoke informally and extemporaneously on a variety of historical topics.

From Quaker Libraries

Among the more important recent acquisitions at the Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library are a letterbook of Mary Davis, a minister of Dartmouth Monthly Meeting in Massachusetts, written during her religious travels from the 1820's into the 1850's and reflecting her opposition to the doctrines of Joseph John Gurney; and a letterbook of Hannah Hall of Harrison County, Ohio, giving an account of her travels in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College has lately acquired twenty-five authograph letters of James Pemberton, prominent Philadelphia Friend of the eighteenth century, including some written from his exile in Virginia during the American Revolution. Other recent accessions include a large collection of papers of Moses Sheppard, founder of the Sheppard Asylum in Baltimore; miscellaneous papers and a grangerized copy of the autobiography of Sarah Cleghorn, Quaker poet; a group of letters of Jane Rushmore, long active in the affairs of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Race Street); and microfilms of the records of meetings in Northern Ireland from the depository in Lisburn.

Book Reviews

Susan B. Anthony. By Alma Lutz. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1959. xii, 340 pages. $5.75.

Nineteenth-century America produced an astonishing galaxy of women, only a handful of whom have yet found biographers worthy of their subjects. The shortage of good biographies is especially troublesome in view of the neglect of women by American historians. From Abigail Adams, departing mistress of the White House when the new century opened, to Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, Anna Howard Shaw and others of the younger generation who were coming into their own when it closed, women were a driving force through that lively hundred years, contradicting in their own persons the assertion of the Seneca Falls "Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions Concerning Women's Rights" that American women were held by men in a state of "absolute despotism." What was true for these few, however, was emphatically not true for the vast majority of their sisters. It was for the latter that Susan B. Anthony labored more than sixty years.

From her girlhood, Susan Anthony's concern was for the woman whose property was not her own, whose child was not her own—belonging under the law solely to the father—, the woman tied in hopeless bondage to a man she despised, for the woman denied education, denied opportunities to develop her own abilities, derided when she asked to speak in public, jeered if she dared to lay aside whalebone and shorten her skirts, taxed without representation, subjected to a double standard of morality, and oppressed by men who endeavored, in the words of the Seneca Falls Declaration, "to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect and to make her willing to lead a dependent and subject life."

It is interesting to imagine Susan Anthony's amazement if she could return to the mid-twentieth century to read the numerous articles, in ladies' magazines and serious journals, discussing the "woman problem" in its most recent guise. The young women of today, to whom this new biography is dedicated, find themselves continually discussed. Why are they so discontented? (Because they are spoiled, the answer often is.) Have they made good use of their emancipation? Are they neglecting their families for the false god of a career? Are they turning American society into a matriarchy? For some of the more thoughtful Miss Lutz's book will provide a startling insight into the great effort that was required to put women in a position to *worry* about whether they are taking control of American life!

Susan came to the Woman Movement, as it was inelegantly called, via temperance and abolition. After her abolitionist co-workers abandoned the cause of women to concentrate on Negro suffrage in 1867, she and Elizabeth Cady Stanton assumed leadership of the battle for woman suffrage, an unremitting battle which they carried on to the end of their very long lives. They wanted suffrage, not as an end in itself, but because without it nothing permanent for the benefit of women could be wrested from the recalcitrant men. Susan was concerned earlier than many of her reform-minded contemporaries with the unequal treatment accorded women who worked for a living, especially those in the poorest paid and most unsanitary occupations. She felt that protection of the government could only be secured when these women wielded the power of the ballot.

To gain their great end, Susan and Mrs. Stanton found few challenges beyond them. Susan traveled endlessly, paying her way by ten-dollar lecture fees and speaking without fee when she had a little money ahead. She slept in lofts in remote Kansas farms, traveled by sled, wagon, or milk train as the occasion required, braved rowdy audiences, went to jail for the crime of casting a ballot in New York state, and invaded the temple of the Mormons in Salt Lake City, carrying the gospel. "Whenever I saw that stately Quaker girl coming across my lawn," wrote Mrs. Stanton gleefully, "I knew that some happy convocation of the Sons of Adam was to be set by the ears. . . ."

Susan was one of the few spinsters in the Woman Movement. She had no insuperable objection to men however, and once confided to Mrs. Stanton the fear that she herself would not be able to hold out against the attractions of matrimony. Her experience with the Stantons' seven children indicated that babies did interfere with suffrage meetings. Nevertheless, despite persuasive proposals from respectable Quaker gentlemen, she never quite succumbed.

Miss Lutz has written a reliable and interesting biography. If she has not made her subject come alive in all her original vigor, it is not to be wondered at. Few biographers do. If this book were our only source, it might be hard to understand fully the public and private influence of Susan Anthony, or the enormous respect in which she was held by her contemporaries. To discover Susan Anthony in all her warm-blooded reality, today's young women would need to turn to Mrs. Stanton's irrepressible memoirs or the 1899 *Life* by Ida Husted Harper. Neither of these is likely to come their way, however, and Miss Lutz's book may. For them, and for the historians accustomed to write our country's history as if one half of the human race were a negligible factor, it is highly recommended.

ANNE F. SCOTT

The University of North Carolina

A Quaker Business Man: The Life of Joseph Rowntree, 1836-1925. By Anne Vernon. London: George Allen and Unwin. 1958. 207 pages. 21/.

Friends should be pleased that the life of a man as good, as successful, and as interesting as Joseph Rowntree has received the attention of a popular biographer. "Anne Vernon" lightly sketches the story of Rowntree's business experience. He guided a small cocoa factory employing some dozen workers in 1869 to a giant in its class, which fifty-five years later had over seven thousand employees. However, this is no technical business history, replete with graphs and learned economic analysis, despite the title, *A Quaker Business Man.*

The author's chief interest is in Rowntree the man, in his deep sense of social responsibility—for his family, for the wider community, and particularly for his own employees. Not every prosperous Quaker merchant has had such success in preserving his family's sense of proportion and simplicity in the face of vast wealth. Joseph Rowntree gave himself and his family full lives without indulgence in luxury or social ostentation.

Most exciting was Rowntree's struggle to maintain his fine Quakerly regard for the dignity and humanity of his workers in a system growing ever larger and more impersonal. Because the intimate paternalism that made sense in an earlier age could not be applied meaningfully in a plant employing thousands, Rowntree became a doughty pioneer in finding ways to express his concern. Far in advance of legislated reform and usually in advance of his own directors, Rowntree became a leader in providing for his workers free medical and dental care, old-age and widows' pensions, grievance machinery, a voice in plant management, and meaningful profit sharing.

Rowntree sought practical measures to alleviate the poverty which deeply disturbed him. Through a Village Trust he built a model village of well-designed homes that paid for themselves despite low rents. Appalled that workers spent one sixth of their income on drink, Rowntree brought out careful studies of the situation, including analyses of various reform measures, one of which, *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform,* unexpectedly became a best seller (almost 90,000 copies). As an early admirer of John Bright, Rowntree saw his way clear to finance newspapers and journals which supported the Liberal cause. His Social Service Trust bought up the *Northern Echo,* helped to finance the *Nation,* the weekly that became in 1931 the *New Statesman,* and with the help of the Cadburys, purchased two London papers, the *Morning Leader* and the *Star.*

Highly individualistic in making his bequests, Rowntree believed that it was "highly undesirable that money should be given by the Trusts to Hospitals, Almshouses, or similar institutions." These were the prime responsibility of the State, not private charity. As he saw it: "It is much

easier to obtain funds for the famine-stricken people of India than to originate a searching enquiry into the causes of these famines. The Soup Kitchen in York never has difficulty in obtaining . . . aid, but an enquiry into the causes of poverty would enlist little support." Similarly he discouraged the use of his money for meetinghouses or school buildings but encouraged its use to augment teachers' salaries or to found a Quaker college for Biblical and social studies.

George Allen and Unwin deserve credit for publishing this readable and attractive book about a distinguished Quaker. "Anne Vernon's" judgments are generous and, though the lack of any documentation is to be regretted, her research seems sound. And even if a tendency to sentimentalize and to include irrelevant family lore may occasionally weary both the serious student and the browser in Quaker history, the central figure whose life she recreates commands our interest and respect.

Amherst College ROBERT DAVISON

Briefer Notices

By HENRY J. CADBURY

William Logan, son of James, died in 1776, when inventories were taken of his possessions both at Stenton and at his house on Second Street, Philadelphia. These inventories, lately acquired by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, have been published by F. B. Tolles in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* LXXXII (1958), 397-410, under the title "Town House and Country House."

* * *

Our First Hundred Years: 1858–1958 is a centenary historical brochure issued by the Hajoca Corporation of Ardmore, Pennsylvania. This corporation was formed in 1927 by merger on the foundation of the Philadelphia plumbers' supply house called Haines, Jones, and Cadbury Company (Hajoca), whose direction had been, from 1865 on, largely in the hands of members of the Society of Friends.

* * *

A handsome and elaborate work by R. S. Sayers is *Lloyds Bank in the History of English Banking* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957, 381 pages). Not only the eponymous founders but many others involved in the history were Friends. They were associated also with other forms of business and often intermarried. Later the story becomes a maze of absorptions of smaller private or joint-stock banks and amalgamations, when the Quaker and Lloyd elements thinned out. The book is rich in maps, family charts, and tables, but has no bibliography. It gives the wider and later context to

the brief material in Raistrick's *Quakers in Science and Industry* (1951), and Emden, *Quakers in Commerce* (1939). The sources used by this author are accessible to scholarly research.

* * *

Suddenly the Sun: A Biography of Shizuko Takahashi by Eleanor Hull (New York: Friendship Press, 1957, 130 pages) is the story of a Japanese woman, née Higuchi, closely associated with the work of Friends in Japan, who became a Christian and Friend, married, and came to America, raised a family, and shared the experience of Japanese-Americans during the Second World War.

* * *

Friend William is the title of a life of William Penn for young readers, ten to fourteen. It is by Willard M. Wallace (Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1958, 157 pages). Though not the only good book for children on the subject, it is written sensitively and with considerable care for historical fact.

* * *

Still another illustrated life of Penn for younger readers (ages ten to fourteen) is by Catherine Owens Peare. Her *William Penn* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1958, 192 pages) has the advantage of her experience both as a writer of children's books and as the author of a recent adult full-length biography of the same subject (this BULLETIN, XLVI: 51).

* * *

The latest Ward Lecture (Guilford College, North Carolina, 1958, 32 pages) is an attractive and independent study by J. Floyd Moore of *Rufus Jones, Luminous Friend.* After a detailed description of his appearance (supplied by his daughter) and a rapid outline of his life, the basic influences on his thought and character are presented as Hebraic-Christian, Greek, Western, Quaker, and uniquely personal. An attempt is made to appraise his ethical and mystical emphases. There are suggested books by or about Rufus Jones.

* * *

Dr. Clifford B. Farr has published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* LXXXIII (1959), 74-89, selections from "The Civil War Correspondence of Dr. Thomas S. Kirkbride," the Quaker superintendent for over forty years of the Mental and Nervous Department of Pennsylvania Hospital. Except one to his wife describing a visit to Secretary of War Stanton, the letters are part of the professional correspondence to him, of which several thousand items exist.

* * *

In 1696 the King of Sweden sent three clergymen with Bibles and other religious books in Swedish to meet the needs of the pious Lutheran residents on the Delaware. This was done with the approval of both the King of England and the Proprietor of Pennsylvania. "The Swedes' Letter to William Penn," written to express their gratitude, is published with

explanation in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* LXXXIII (1959), 90-94.

* * *

"The Political Career of A. Mitchell Palmer" by Donald Johnson *(Pennsylvania History,* XXV [1958], 345-370) deals with a puzzling and controversial figure. A Quaker, opposed to violence, "who refused the Secretaryship of War on the ground that his Quaker faith forbade it," he is known in history as a forerunner of McCarthy. His political fate was sealed by reaction to his extreme anti-radical activities as Attorney General in 1919 and his loss of the Democratic nomination for the Presidency in 1920.

* * *

Echoes continue from the Whittier sesquicentennial. An able account of one of the most active and interesting periods of the poet's life by Arthur H. Reede, entitled "Whittier's Pennsylvania Years, 1837-1840," is published in *Pennsylvania History,* XXV (1958), 384-409.

* * *

A Kansas newspaper article on local Quakerism may be noted: Ruby Basye, "A Quaker Colony Founded Haviland," in *Hutchinson News,* February 23, 1958.

* * *

"Two Early Quaker Letters" written in 1804 and 1805 from Waynesville, Ohio, by Samuel Linton, a founder of Center Monthly Meeting, Warren (later Clinton) County, Ohio, are published in the *Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio,* XVI (1958), 245-253. They are edited by Lee Shepard.

* * *

Genealogical data from Honey Creek Monthly Meeting (1820-1829), the third oldest but short-lived Monthly Meeting of Western Yearly Meeting, located in Vigo County, Indiana, are published by Willard G. Heiss in *Indiana Magazine of History,* LIV (1958), 281-292.

* * *

Margaret Moore wrote on "A Century of Peace Loving People" in the *Indianapolis Star Magazine,* August 10, 1958. This illustrated Sunday newspaper story was published at the time of Western Yearly Meeting's centennial anniversary, Plainfield, Indiana, August 18-24, 1958. The article contained a long list of "firsts" for Quakers and described their contributions to the development of the Middle West.

* * *

The extraordinary sect founded in Canada in the early nineteenth century by David Willson, a Friend, is described by Hilary Spooner under the title "Sharon Temple and the Children of Peace" in *Ontario History,* L (1958), 219-227. See the earlier account in Arthur G. Dorland's *History of the Society of Friends in Canada* (1927), Chapter 7.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review does well to publish (XXXIII [1959], 42-59) a well-weighed article by J. Herbert Fretz on "The Germantown Anti-Slavery Petition of 1688." Even though it is dependent in the main on older works, especially those by Drake and Hull, it exposes the doubtful claims sometimes made about the nationality, religion, and priority of these petitioners, most of whom had been Mennonites before they were Quakers, and as such had not belonged, as Friends had, to a group that in the colonies had without much protest or sensitiveness fallen into the practice of slaveholding. As the editor rightly says, "Fretz places the document and the event in its proper setting in Colonial America as in Quakerism and Mennonitism. It clearly was not a Mennonite document, but the spirit was just as clearly Mennonite and due to the earlier Mennonite background of the signers."

* * *

In Howard R. Floan's *The South In Northern Eyes, 1831-1861* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas, 1958), Chapter ii (pp. 18-35) deals with Whittier. The author finds this poet's views uninformed and secondhand, a condemnation shared by other Yankee writers.

* * *

The Rogerenes of Connecticut were often associated with Friends or even called Quakers. Two short-lived settlements by this religious group in New Jersey, both in Morris County during the eighteenth century, are briefly described by Maud H. Greene in her report as corresponding secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society in the Society's *Proceedings,* LXXVI (1958), pp. 70-71.

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A. H. Dodd writes on "The Background of the Welsh Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania" in the *Journal* of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society, III (1958), 111-127.

* * *

Howard H. Brinton contributed the article on "Quakerism, Classical, the Morality of," i.e., "The Morality of Classical Quakerism," to the *Encyclopedia of Morals,* edited by Vergilius Ferm (New York: Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 461-469).

* * *

Cornelia: the Story of a Civil War Nurse by Jane T. McConnell (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1959, 184 pages) is the account, written for young people, of Cornelia Hancock, who also founded the Laing School of Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina. There is some fictionalizing, but also dependence on the correspondence published recently by Henrietta S. Jaquette in *South After Gettysburg,* a book which is not mentioned here.

* * *

An unpretentious memoir, *William A. Cadbury, 1867-1957* (printed for private circulation, 1958, 76 pages), actually contains a very full and

varied account of a long and useful life. It is finely illustrated and it exhibits many phases of his public, business, and private career and interests, from his concern for the Portuguese Slave Question to his illustrated letters to children, some of which, reproduced from the originals, are a special feature of this biography.

* * *

Charles Thomson was not a Friend but closely related. John Adams in 1774 referred to him as "the Sam Adams of Philadelphia, the life of the cause of Liberty." John J. Zimmerman in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XLV (1958), 464-480 gives a careful analysis of his political life prior to this date, when he began fifteen years of service as Secretary of the Continental and Federal Congresses. The article is entitled "Charles Thomson, 'the Sam Adams of Philadelphia.' "

* * *

"A List of all the Friends Meetings that exist or ever have existed in Indiana, 1807-1955" is the title of a volume compiled and published by Willard Heiss, 4020 East 34th St., Indianapolis 18, Indiana (edition limited to 100 copies). Meetings are located and dates of establishment, changes, present existence or discontinuance are noted. Included are meetings of Indiana Yearly Meeting and Western Yearly Meeting, the Hicksite and Antislavery Indiana Yearly Meetings, Central Yearly Meeting, the Congregational Friends, etc.

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A Bibliography of North Carolina, 1589-1956 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958) compiled by Mary Lindsay Thornton, is a catalogue of the North Carolina collection at the University. Among over fifteen thousand entries are many of Quaker interest.

* * *

Leonard U. Hill has edited *John Johnston and the Indians in the Land of the Three Miamis . . . With Recollections of Sixty Years,* by John Johnston (Piqua, Ohio, 1957). Johnston (1775-1861) was agent at Fort Wayne, Indiana, from 1802 to 1811 among the Miami Indians. He was born in Ireland, lived in Philadelphia, boarded with a Quaker family, and his wife was (probably) the daughter of a Friend. There are numerous references to Friends throughout. The *Recollections* were first published in 1846, and again in 1915.

* * *

In *Historic Nantucket,* VI (1959), 9-14, is an article by Babette M. Levy on "Peter Folger, Able and Godly."

* * *

Apropos the tercentenary of Nantucket the *Christian Science Monitor,* May 4, 1959, published an appreciative account of "Maria Mitchell and Her Island" by Elizabeth Fraser Torjesen. Professor Mitchell, the Quaker astronomer, became known by her discovery of a comet in 1847.

In the *Germantowne Crier* for March 1959 (XI: 7-9, 25-27) is printed an address of Frank W. Melvin to the Society of Mayflower Descendants on "William Penn and the Pilgrim Fathers: Commonwealth Builders."

* * *

The *Yearbook* of Pasquotank Historical Society (Vol. II, Elizabeth City, North Carolina, 1956-1957) contains the following articles: "The Albemarle in 1672 as described by George Fox" by John Elliott Wood; "Quakers in the Albemarle after 1672" by Mrs. Watson Winslow; "Fragments of Quaker History" by Olive Rogerson Stallings.

* * *

Alene Godfrey edits "A Quaker Pilgrimage, being a mission to the Indians from the Indian Committee of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting to Fort Wayne, 1804," in *Old Fort News,* Vol. XXII, No. 2 (April-June 1959), 1-15. This journal of Gerard T. Hopkins was first published in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* IV (1909), 1-24.

* * *

Frank F. Finney writes on "The Osages and their Agency during the term of Isaac T. Gibson, Quaker Agent" in *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* XXXVI (1958-1959), 416-428.

* * *

The *Pennsylvania Traveler,* Vol. I, No. 6 (Easter, 1959) contains a review of "The Trial of William Penn" in 1670, quoting from Penn's own account. It includes tribute to the dissenting jurors whose acquittal completed this "forgotten milestone along the road toward freedom."

* * *

The *Bulletin* of the Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, Vol. XI (1958), contains articles of interest in Quaker history, though not explicitly on it. One, originally intended for newspaper articles but never published, is on "Glimpses of Lower Merion History," by Charles R. Barker (pp. 124-143, 232-264). It deals at length with the township lines, the early settlers, and their lands, roads, houses, and mills, and is carefully documented with notes. The other is "The Delaware Valley —an Historical Appreciation" (pp. 187-202) by John A. Munroe with emphasis upon the unity of the area ever since it was the site of four Quaker colonies.

* * *

Percival Hunt in a series of papers, *Samuel Pepys in the Diary* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958, 178 pages) devotes the longest section (pp 80-111) to Pepys and William Penn. The diary shows intimately the background of the future Quaker from 1660 to 1669, mentioning him twenty-five times and his parents much oftener. Hunt begins with discussing the portraits painted of Pepys, his wife, and the Penns, father and son. There follows a chronicle of events involving the Penn family. Though noted as "the best self portrait written in English," the diary is invaluable for a knowledge of that family.

Articles in Quaker Periodicals

By LYMAN W. RILEY

The Friend

George H. Edwards describes "The Old Meeting House at Dolobran," in Wales, built in 1701 but long since abandoned.—Jan. 23, 1959, pp. 107-108.

L. Hugh Doncaster writes an appreciative and informative article about "Joseph Sturge" on the centennial of his death. He describes succinctly Sturge's many accomplishments in the political and social field.—May 15, 1959, pp. 621-624.

Friends Journal

Gilbert Bowles gives a moving account of the character of "Dr. Inazo Nitobe," Japanese educator, lawyer, statesman, and Friend. He mentions particularly Nitobe's compassion, humor, and interest in religion.—Dec. 20, 1958, pp. 738, 745-746.

Letter from the Past No. 175, "The Plain Language," illustrates from four sources the difficulties that arise in attempting to perpetuate and widen the use of the personal pronoun to denote equality.—Jan. 17, 1959, pp. 40-41.

A note about the home of John M. George gives information about this early building, begun in 1693, and about the bequest of its owner that made possible the founding of George School.—Jan. 17, 1959, pp. 41-42.

Letter from the Past No. 176, "Lincoln and the Quakers," relates a Lincoln-Quaker joke and several anecdotes demonstrating Lincoln's love of peace and sympathy for Friends' peace position. — Feb. 7, 1959, pp. 82, 91.

"Two Strands in Quakerism" by Henry J. Cadbury discusses contrasting interpretations of the role of Christ. The article is part of the 1959 William Penn Lecture, "The Character of a Quaker." — April 4, 1959, pp. 212-214.

A note describes a portrait of Elias Hicks, dated 1828, now at the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College. The artist was Jefferson Gauntt, a Friend of Pennsylvania and New York.—May 16, 1959, p. 316.

Letter from the Past No. 177 has some comment on "Honorary Degrees" for Quakers, and mentions one recently unearthed, an LL.D. conferred on Joseph John Gurney by Brown University in 1838.—June 6, 1959, pp. 358, 365.

Robert A. Clark writes a thorough and informed article on "Quakers and Psychiatry: The Earlier Years," covering the subject from 1671 to 1895 in both Great Britain and America.—June 6, 1959, pp. 363-365; June 13, 1959, pp. 380-382.

Journal of the Friends' Historical Society

William H. Marwick has amassed much information on "Some Quaker Firms of the Nineteenth Century." He describes eleven firms: two chemical and three biscuit manufacturers, three merchants, and one insurance company (Friends' Provident Institution). The author identifies the Friends in the companies, giving not only their dates and position, but also their activities in Quakerly concerns. Most of the firms were started as family businesses; among the families mentioned are Albright, Sturge, Wilson, Fox, Harrison, Crosfield, Richardson, Carr, Gray, Huntley, and Jacob. — XLVIII (1958), 239-259.

Leonhard Friedrich gives a concise and informative account of "Friends around Pyrmont in the Early Nineteenth Century." Ludwig Seebohm was a leader among them. Mentioned are Quaker visitors to Pyrmont from Great Britain and America, the numbers and activities and difficulties of the Pyrmont Meeting, and the final disposition of the Meetinghouse. — XLVIII (1958), 260-266.

R. S. Mortimer again presents data from his researches in Bristol Friends minutes, this time examples of Friends' response to King's briefs, i.e. licensed appeals for collections for public or private loss through fire, flood, etc., or for church repairs. From as early as 1677 Bristol Friends, and presumably other Friends also, took collections or granted funds in response to briefs, in addition to raising money for the relief of their own members. No government brief for church purposes was responded to, however. — XLVIII (1958), 267-279, 284.

L. Hugh Doncaster writes of "William Singleton of Sheffield" who, aided by Friends in Great Britain, visited Gambia and Sierra Leone from December, 1820, to July, 1821, to investigate the possibility of education for the Africans. He discharged his mission admirably. Interest is lent to this incident, however, by observing that the committee that sent him did so only after careful investigation and, even then, with some trepidation. Two years later he resigned from the Society after having been "a cause of anxiety to the elders in Sheffield" for several years because of his "long and frequent" ministry. — XLVIII (1958), 280-282.